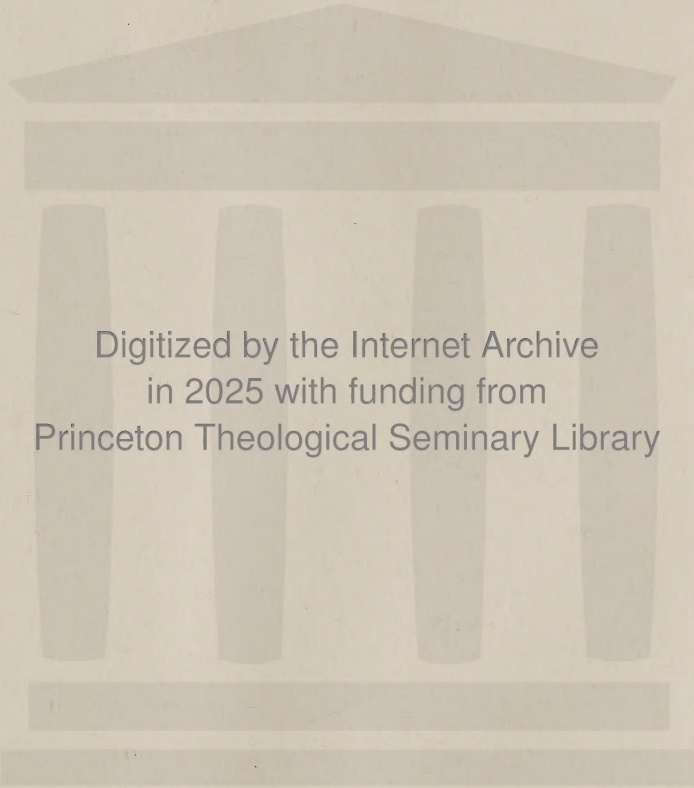


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THE GROWTH OF THE GOSPELS

THE EARLY DAYS OF CHRISTIANITY

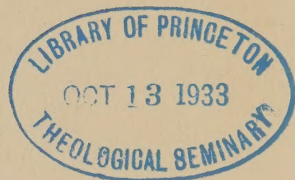
THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JESUS

THE EARLY DAYS OF CHRISTIANITY
(Teacher's Manual)

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JESUS
(Teacher's Manual)

THE GROWTH OF THE GOSPELS

✓
FREDERICK C. GRANT



NEW YORK

THE ABINGDON PRESS
CINCINNATI

CHICAGO

GRANT
THE GROWTH OF THE GOSPELS

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To
BURTON SCOTT EASTON
TEACHER AND FRIEND

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PREFACE

A NUMBER of new and fascinating developments in the study of the gospels have taken place during the past two decades, and chiefly since the Great War. If anyone supposed that Synoptic criticism had reached its final form in the days before the great conflict of nations interrupted the research of scholars, that assumption has been completely disproved. Such an epoch-making work as Canon Streeter's *The Four Gospels* (1924), in the English-speaking world, and the studies put forth by the school of 'Formgeschichte' in Germany, have thrown fresh light upon the process by which our gospels were produced, and have made necessary a whole course of reinterpretation and revaluation, particularly of the sources.

It is the purpose of this book—originally delivered as lectures—to sum up certain of these new developments, and go on from there, attacking some of the problems that remain. In particular, it undertakes the task of the revaluation of the sources, on one hand, and, on the other, that of studying the finished gospels in the light of their probable provenance (or place and occasion of origin), date, and purpose. I am strongly convinced of the fundamental correctness of Streeter's hypothesis of the development of the Gospel of Luke: viz. the combination of Q and L to form 'Proto-Luke,' and the subsequent insertion of Marcan material into this framework in seven 'blocks' of narrative. (The conviction that L was a real document I owe to B. Weiss and Easton, though not entirely agreeing with either in the detailed assignment of Lucan passages to this source.) But I am equally strongly *unpersuaded* of the existence of a document, which Streeter labels 'M,' underlying the peculiar

matter of Matthew, and which provides the fourth basis of Streeter's famous 'Four Document Hypothesis.' So far as I know, no one but Canon Streeter himself is convinced of its existence. Neither on linguistic nor historical or literary-critical grounds does the evidence seem sufficient to warrant its isolation. In place of Streeter's 'Four Document Hypothesis,' and especially in view of the light which 'Formgeschichte' sheds upon the earliest transmission of the evangelic traditions, I incline toward a modern form of the *Multiple Source Theory*: St. Luke himself suggests it in his opening words—'Forasmuch as *many* have taken in hand to draw up a narrative. . . .'

The greatest modern work upon St. Mark is the Commentary of Canon Rawlinson in the Westminster series (1925). It owes not a little to the best of its predecessors in this field, *Das Aelteste Evangelium* of the late Johannes Weiss (1903); but it is a thoroughly independent work, and advances the interpretation of our earliest gospel by many steps. What I have tried to do in interpreting St. Mark, in the present volume, is to present somewhat more clearly than has hitherto been common the identification and the extent of the Controversy-sections, studying them as a real source of the Marcan gospel and as reflections of the conflicts between Church and Synagogue (and in some instances conflicts within the church itself) current in the Roman religious community in the 50's and 60's of the first century. I am persuaded also of the accuracy of the ecclesiastical tradition that identifies the preaching or teaching of St. Peter among the sources used by Mark, though the amount of direct Petrine material in that gospel seems to me considerably less than is often assumed. But I do not believe 'Mark' was a Jew, nor a Palestinian—for reasons given below. At the same time, much of his material has come *via* the Palestinian churches. Still another

source for our earliest gospel is the document Q, used also by Matthew and Luke. I am not prepared to designate Mark's Q with the symbol 'R,' as the Roman *form* of the Sayings Document; Mark's somewhat vague and hazy use of it seems to me more like the work of a poor memory, dimly recollecting passages and phrases without opportunity of verification from a written document lying at the writer's elbow. But that it is Q the author is citing I have no doubt; and I adduce what seems to be positive stylistic evidence for this hypothesis—its characteristic stylism, 'Verily.' On the whole, Mark's origin in Rome in the late 60's—perhaps 68, to be explicit—seems to be the conclusion toward which all the lines of evidence clearly point; and the gospel receives its clearest and most satisfactory interpretation upon this assumption. It really fits the requirements of that date and *milieu*, as we understand them today.

In addition to Streeter's work on Proto-Luke and Luke in *The Four Gospels*, all students are indebted to the works of J. Weiss, Cadbury, and Easton—particularly to Easton's great Commentary (1926). It is still true that the writings of Luke provide the crux of New Testament interpretation. "The Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles may be said to form the pivots round which the study of the New Testament revolves. The question of the gospel sources forms a central point of the synoptic problem, and the reliability of Acts a fundamental base for the reconstruction of early Christian history."¹ But we seem to be much nearer a solution of the basic problems than we were, say, even ten years ago. Much is to be expected from Professor Lake's forthcoming Commentary on Acts; the earlier volumes in the series, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, vols. i-iii (1920-22-26), are indispensable to the serious student. The sources of Luke are fairly certain: Q, L, and Mark.

¹ H. McLachlan, *St. Luke, the Man and His Work* (1920), p. 1.

My own studies lead me not only to the renewed and ever-deepening conviction of the real existence of Q and L, but also to the feeling that Luke has not only preserved Q in better sequence than has Matthew, i.e. preserving more of its original order, but he has also—with certain easily recognizable exceptions—more closely approximated the original wording and phraseology. This has not often been recognized by scholars, who have too readily adopted the formula, 'Luke's order and Matthew's wording'; but a study of Luke's use of Mark, noting especially his care in relating the actual words of Jesus, points in the direction I have indicated. With great reluctance I must dissent from Easton's assignment of the Lucan Nativity and Passion Narratives to L; that document, I believe, was more like Q, not a gospel in the later sense, even in embryonic form, but a collection of sayings, parables, and incidents. Indeed, as I have tried to indicate, there are traces of *topical* arrangement to be found in both Q and L. The Nativity Narrative I believe to be derived from another and cognate source—a view shared with Vincent Taylor (see his *Behind the Third Gospel*, 1926, ch. vii), and really supported by his earlier view of the origin of the Virgin Birth narrative set forth in 1920.² The Passion Narrative of Luke (i.e. the source underlying the non-Markan elements in Luke xxii–xxiv) is undoubtedly early—earlier, I should be inclined to say, than Mark's;³ and as an extended narrative (structurally so unlike the material in L) it is coupled with the Lucan Resurrection Narrative, which indeed carries it on to its natural conclusion. I cannot believe, with Easton, Streeter, and Taylor, that these sections are a continuation of L, for reasons given below; they were derived from another, closely related source. This hypothesis is not to be refuted by the tables of stylistic

² *The Historical Evidence for the Virgin Birth*, chh. ii–iv.

³ See also H. Lietzmann, 'Der Prozess Jesu' (*Sitzb. Pr. Akad. Wiss.* 1931).

data set forth by Sir John Hawkins (*Horae Synopticae*, 2d ed., 1909, pp. 15ff., 27ff.) and Easton (*The Gospel According to St. Luke*, 1926, pp. xxivff.); for it is granted not only that the Nativity, Passion, and Resurrection Narratives, and L were 'cognate,' i.e. derived no doubt from one and the same area of tradition or locality, but that they were all passed through the refiner's fire of Luke's keen and unique sense for literary and historical propriety—they one and all bear the imprint of his style. If anything, the hypothesis is only a further refinement of the one already set forth, and to my mind established, by Hawkins, Easton, Streeter, Taylor, and Weiss. And it refuses to cut the Gordian knot by lumping together the source-material at the end of Luke—'except for the verses derived from Mark the identification of which is very problematical' (Streeter, p. 222). Easton has already distinguished xxiv. 36–49 as belonging 'to some still different source' from L.

The Gospel of Matthew has come to be recognized more clearly than ever, during the past ten years, as the 'Jewish' gospel *par excellence*. The voluminous Commentary of the late Hermann Strack and Professor Paul Billerbeck (chiefly the work of the latter), *Kommentar zum N. T. aus Talmud und Midrasch*,⁴ the studies of Dr. C. G. Montefiore (*The Synoptic Gospels*, 2d ed., two volumes, 1927, supplemented by *Rabbinic Literature and Gospel Teachings*, 1930), and more recently the work of Professor Bacon, *Studies in Matthew* (1930), all point even more definitely in this direction than most earlier works have done. Likewise from the historical angle, as a result of the effort to fit the gospel into its proper place in the development of Christian thought and to study it against the background of what we know of the situation in which it arose, its 'Jewishness' is apparently

⁴ Vol. i (Matthew) 1922; ii (Mark, Luke, John, Acts) 1924; iii (Epp. and Apoc.) 1926; iv. 1–2 (*Exkurse*) 1928.

more pronounced than ever. Reliable and ample, if not superabundant, data for the determination of the provenance and approximate date of Matthew are provided by the Gospel itself. Scholars have long held that the reflections of the Christian community, its practices and its outlook, which it affords point to some locality where the Jewish strain was strong, if not predominant. It remained for Streeter to gather up the evidence and set it forth most persuasively in favor of Antioch (*The Four Gospels*, pp. 500ff.); certainly it was here, or in the near neighborhood, that the Gospel of Matthew first saw the light. Bacon inclines to ascribe the *title* of the Gospel to Antioch, but its materials to the tradition found among some group in the hinterland, possibly at Apamea or even Edessa (*Studies in Matthew*, pp. 35ff.).

Instead of identifying the 'peculiar' matter of Matthew as fragments of a special source or document, M, a careful examination of it suggests as equally tenable, and, indeed, more probable, the hypothesis that we have here a number of strands of tradition whose homogeneity is due, not to a single and distinct document, but, rather, to a common origin in the teaching, praxis, and worship of the early Syrian or North Palestinian⁵ church toward the end of the first century. Further evidence for this comparatively 'late' date is set forth below: its revived apocalypticism, its attitude toward Judaism, the Empire, and the world-mission of the church, toward the later and less acute 'Paulinism' of the Gentile churches, and its recognition of the more than open possibility of persecution for the faith. What we have in the Gospel of Matthew is an arrangement of the Life and Teaching of Jesus, almost on the plan of the synagogue lections

⁵ Bernhard Weiss' observation that Matt. ix. 26, 31 indicates that the author lived *outside* Palestine is, to my mind, still valid; though ἡ γῆ ἐκεῖνη may refer to *southern* Galilee. On the location of the author, see below, ch. vii.

and certainly made for didactic purposes, as commonly read and used by the Christians in some Jewish community or communities in the neighborhood of Antioch c. 100 A.D., and perhaps even some years later. It reflects perfectly the outlook and aims of such a group, so far as we are able to reconstruct historically those aims and outlook; and it fits equally well no other early Christian *milieu* known to us. The Gospel of Matthew is thus a document of primary importance for the early Syrian church, and helps bridge the gap between the Antiochene sections of the book of Acts and the later Didache.

On the Gospel of John, criticism has swung through a great diametral arc since Westcott's day, and even since the main period (all but the very latest phase) of Sanday's work in this field. Though not yet translated into English, Wilhelm Bousset's revolutionary study of primitive Christian faith, *Kyrios Christos* (2d ed., 1921), has had an influence reaching far outside Germany. In his own land, where the traditional view has not been so strongly held as in the English-speaking countries, a commentary like the recent one of Walter Bauer in the 'Handbuch' series (2d ed., 1925), or the new edition of Jülicher's Introduction (7th ed., in collaboration with Erich Fascher, 1931), is ample evidence that Bousset's views have been taken seriously. In English, the effort is still made to accommodate the new 'religious historical' view to the traditional, as may be seen in Garvie's work and in the recent Commentaries by MacGregor (1928) and Bernard (1929), and even, under modification, in J. E. Carpenter's *Johannine Writings* (1927). The traditional view maintains that the author of the Fourth Gospel was 'a Jew, a Palestinian Jew, an eyewitness, a disciple, the beloved disciple'—a cumulative argument ending in his identification with the apostle John. The mediating positions either identify the author with the presbyter John

of Asia (according to the tradition preserved in Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 39. 1-7) or undertake to distinguish a substratum of first-hand testimony which can reasonably be attributed to a member of the intimate inner circle of the Lord's disciples. Streeter's reverie, 'An Old Man's Farewell' (*The Four Gospels*, ch. xvi), is this kind of hypothesis, showing the tenacity with which the Westcott tradition still maintains itself in English exegesis. But the evidence really points to someone later than John as the author, to a writer rather far removed from the inner circle of the original Twelve, to one who is far too conversant with Jewish or even Jewish-Christian Gnosticism not to have grown up within its realm of ideas, to one whose attitude toward 'the Jews' is too pronouncedly of the Gentile, Græco-Roman, Marcan type for him to have been born or reared within a Jewish home; while the 'substratum of authentic reminiscence' is so difficult to isolate and identify that one may well give up the task as hopeless.⁶ Where the authentic words of Jesus leave off and the words of 'John' begin it is impossible to say; the Johannine Christ and the Johannine interpreter of Christ both speak the same language and expound the same ideas; only rarely do the Johannine sayings (never the Johannine discourses) harmonize with the sayings of Jesus recorded in Q, L, and the synoptists. A choice between the synoptic and the Johannine Christ is thus unavoidable: 'For a Jesus who preached alternately in the manner of the Sermon on the Mount and of John xiv-xvi is a psychological impossibility; the distinction between his so-called exoteric and esoteric teaching a palpable absurdity' (Jülicher, *E.T.*, p. 421; new ed., p. 412).

⁶ As for 'John the Elder,' his very existence is questionable; Eusebius may have created him to meet the exigencies of his own literary criticism of the Johannine writings. Cf. Jülicher, *Einl.*, pp. 399f., and, from the extreme conservative point of view, Zahn in *Prot. Real-Encykl.* ix. 284—who, however, defends Eusebius and charges his interpreters with the erroneous 'doubling' of John.

As a result, we are forced back to a fresh reconsideration of the data afforded by the gospel, and must start anew upon the task of interpretation. Viewing the book as a product of some Hellenistic church in the early second century, in a region saturated with Gnostic or quasi-Gnostic ideas, aspirations, and piety, written by a convert from this quasi-Gnostic, quasi-theosophic syncretism of religion and popular philosophy, by someone who stood at the crossroads where historical Christian tradition and Hellenistic piety came together—on such a view the book takes on fresh interest. Instead of the apologetic attempt to find in John the evidences requisite to support the traditional view, and taking the book as it stands, it has much to tell us about a type of belief, i.e. of both faith and doctrine, destined to be of fundamental importance in the later evolution of Christianity. Supposing the gospel were discovered today for the first time, in some ancient library or Egyptian jar (like the old Coptic MS of the gospel discovered in 1923 at Hamamieh and edited by Sir Herbert Thompson), and setting aside both the ecclesiastical traditions of its origin (none of them earlier than Irenæus) and the exegetical tradition based thereupon, there is little doubt what we should make of it, at least in general appraisal. Something like this approach it is the duty of the exegete to make, if he is ever to see clearly and as a whole the book and the environment out of which it grew, the problems to which its author addressed himself, and the aim which he set before himself when he wrote ‘the spiritual gospel’—as Clement of Alexandria not unfairly designated it. As a counter-hypothesis to the one which has long been current among English-speaking theologians, and in distinction from the mediating positions commonly advanced today, I have sketched what seems to me a not-unlikely account of the genesis of the Fourth Gospel. Of all the views and hypoth-

eses advanced in the present work I am least inclined to be dogmatic about this one: but I do claim for it the following value, if no other, viz. it is quite as legitimate as the traditional one, and it may prove useful in preparing for that fresh approach to the problem which is now so long overdue in America and Britain.

In any adequate survey of current study of the Gospels consideration ought certainly to be given to recent developments in the study of the text—not least to Streeter's theory of the Cæsarean text. The student will find in Kirsopp Lake's excellent essay, 'The Text of the Gospels,' published in the volume, *Studies in Early Christianity* (1928; edited by Shirley Jackson Case), or in the new edition of the same author's *Text of the New Testament* (1928; revised by Silva New), the requisite orientation. Both are from the pen of a thorough expert in this highly specialized field.⁷

It may be thought that the views here advanced are too radical. Using the word in the true sense, however, it may be replied that no criticism (if we are to undertake criticism at all) can be 'too radical,' i.e. go too deeply into the roots of problems, and unearth them in their full entanglement. Only on the old and now antiquated view that scripture is verbally inspired and inerrant can opposition to thorough-going historical and literary criticism maintain itself. To me it seems that the counterview, viz. that the New Testament is really 'the church's book,' that 'the church came before the New Testament,' that behind the literature, the documents, there moves a living and continuous and still-vital stream of creative spiritual life, and that the sources have significance primarily as they are related to that onward-moving current of spiritual energy—this view not

⁷ See also the article on 'The Cæsarean Text of the Gospel of Mark,' by K. Lake, R. P. Blake, and Silva New, in *Harvard Theol. Review*, xxi. 4 (Oct., 1928).

only safeguards the rights of historical criticism but also provides an intellectually defensible position for faith at the present day. Men feared the results of 'destructive criticism' in the 70's and 80's of last century; but higher criticism has come to stay and Christian faith has survived the ordeal—is, in fact, the stronger for the change in attitude that criticism has wrought. A church, or a faith, that has lived with the New Testament for eighteen centuries and more is not likely to suffer greatly from still further changes in its outlook as a result of free historical investigation of the process by which its sacred book came into existence.

I am not overlooking the fact that most persons study the Gospels with one sole purpose in view: for further light upon the life and teaching of the One who was himself the Light of the World. It is not a purely literary or historical problem, or set of problems, that confronts either the ordinary reader of the Gospels or the technical student. One may study the chronological sequence and date, the sources and the technique of Shakespeare's plays without his ethical or religious presuppositions and convictions being affected. Not so the reader of the Gospels. But I am fully convinced of this: no study of the Gospels conducted under the generally accepted canons of historical and literary criticism (even the most 'radical' and up to date, those of the school of Form-history) will either remain fruitless of positive results for Christian faith, or prove inimical in the long run to Christian convictions. It is a part of the long story of criticism that some of the church's doctrines have had to be reformulated again and again, as a result of 'the assured results of criticism' or of the progress of physical science or of changes in philosophical outlook; but it has not been wholly loss—gain, rather—that this was so. Bibliolatry has ceased to be dominant in the Protestant world, where it once flourished, and where, indeed, it reached its climax;

its place has been taken by a saner, more wholesome, more constructive, a more ethically and religiously satisfying conception of the biblical literature and of the history behind the literature.⁸ It remains for the church to absorb the new viewpoints and press on at its age-old task; I for one cannot see how even the most radical criticism (if it be sound criticism) can permanently upset or really injure the faith which is rooted deep in man's experience of the Eternal—a present experience, and no mere echo of some ancient authority, however venerable. 'The foundation of God standeth sure.' The new light upon the Gospels which has come from their critical study during recent years has only increased the certainty that behind them stands One who, while he 'spake as never man spake,' nevertheless spake *as man*. The historical origins of the Christian faith are still no doubt in many respects quite obscure, and probably must ever remain so. We shall never have, as Doctor Sanday remarked, an account such as the morning *Times* or *Herald* might have given of affairs in Galilee in the closing years of the third decade of our era. But would such an account bring us much nearer to the goal of our quest than the Gospels as we have them now—the final product of the tradition, at first wholly oral, then partly written, of the Christian churches in the first and second and perhaps (to some extent) even the third generations of the new faith? A purely external observer and 'objective' recorder of those events might easily have missed 'the many-splendored thing'; it took long years of selective and interpretative experience in 'the Way' to bring out the full significance of 'all that Jesus began both to do and to teach.' And it may be that the experience of men will make it possible, even today at this remote stage of history, for 'still more light to break forth' from that matchless Life and those incompar-

⁸ See my *New Horizons of the Christian Faith* (1928), esp. ch. vi, 'The New Bible.'

able Sayings. In lieu of the 'storybook' Life of Christ, which modern historical and literary criticism has now rendered impossible; in lieu of certain answers to a multitude of questions, Where? When? Under what circumstances? In whose presence? On what journey? and so on—we are forced back to a situation not wholly dissimilar to that in which the church stood once before, at the very beginning of the Gospel-writing period, when only scattered sayings or brief collections of sayings, together with a fairly fixed account of Jesus' Passion, comprised the Christian believer's knowledge of the life and ministry of his Lord. And as then a Paul could write, 'Even though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now we know him so no more' (II Cor. v. 16), so now it is the *spiritual* Christ, 'the Lord the Spirit' (ib. iii. 17), who appears before us and beckons us to follow him. In a profoundly true sense it is not the historical Christ, 'the Jesus of history,' who is the positive Redeemer of men and the hope of the world, but the spiritual Christ, the risen and exalted Lord of the church's faith. It is 'the Spirit of Jesus' who suffers not those who follow him to go over into the Bithynia of crass and selfish worldliness, and who is the Christian's promised Guide 'into all the truth'—a truth which has never been primarily historical, or scientific, or metaphysical, but the truth of life, the meaning of life, here, and always, and everywhere.

I

THE NEW TESTAMENT THE CHURCH'S BOOK

MODERN historical and literary criticism of the New Testament is returning to an old and, to many persons, a familiar theological position. As often happens, it is returning to an old position—but with a difference in approach and emphasis. And it is this difference in approach and emphasis that marks and measures the real progress made in the course of a century and more of modern New Testament research.

The old position is this: the New Testament is *the church's book*. Its existence, its preservation, its transmission in manuscripts and in printed editions and in new translations, its interpretation, its original aim and purpose and outlook, the reason for its existence as a whole, are quite inexplicable apart from its production and eventual canonization by the church. Two centuries and more of Rationalism, ending soon after the close of the eighteenth century, though an indispensable preliminary stage in the genesis of the modern critical view of the Scriptures, tended to obscure and ignore this fact. The New Testament books were often treated as individual creations, and their writers as isolated authors, working outside any social group or with only a tenuous connection with the group, and from quite private and personal motives¹—though the motives were sometimes supplied, hypothetically, from the needs of early Christian propaganda. This antiquated view still survives and occasionally finds expression in works which reflect far more the

¹ The only example of such a writer, working with the independence of a Herodotus or a Thucydides, is St. Luke; but he writes for the church, and from its midst.

independence and individualism of modern religious thought than the actual conditions under which the New Testament writings appeared. But just as the Old Testament has come to be recognized as inexplicable apart from the social-religious *milieu* in which it arose—a changing *milieu*, ranging over ten centuries of social development and change—so the New Testament has come to be recognized as inexplicable apart from the religious movement which gave it birth and the church or religious community for which it was written. In spite of the errors and exaggerations of the “Tübingen School” of New Testament interpretation, in the middle of last century (i.e. early in the ‘critical’ period which followed the era of Rationalism), it is clear that this was one contribution of real value which it made: the New Testament documents were brought into closest relation with the ‘tendencies’ and movements of the early church, i.e. the church of the first and second centuries. Not “in lonely isolation, fancy free,” but in living contact with the labors and ambitions, the hopes and fears, the faith and convictions of the church were these ‘documents’ produced. As we view it today, the New Testament is quite indissociably and inseparably the church’s book. The Tübingen movement had much to do with bringing this view into clear recognition and general acceptance.²

The new emphasis and approach to this old and, indeed, traditional position is as follows: Whereas for many centuries the church maintained its claim to exercise a sole and exclusive authority in interpreting the New Testament, interpreting it in strict accordance with the later formularies of the faith, and, indeed, not infrequently in terms of far later theologies, that right is now challenged, where it is not ignored, throughout the Protestant world—everywhere, in

² Henry S. Nash, *The History of the Higher Criticism of the N. T.* (1906), is still a useful book. Ch. ix contains an account of the Tübingen School.

brief, outside Roman Catholicism and the narrowest circles of Protestant Fundamentalism. It was not many generations ago that orthodox Protestants clung as tenaciously to the Calvinistic, or the Lutheran, the 'Evangelical,' or the Anglican interpretation of Scripture as the majority of Roman Catholics today cling to the Tridentine or the Thomistic interpretation. The day of 'historical' criticism was not yet; no one dreamed of its coming. The only key or clue to the interpretation of Scripture was the one provided by the traditional, orthodox faith—though each bibliolatrous heterodoxy was completely, and sometimes complacently, orthodox in its own eyes. This was a natural enough position, and one that was widely accepted: "the church to teach, the Bible to prove," was the old High Anglican view. The received faith held a position of general acceptance, within the particular communion, comparable to that of 'the assured results of modern science' in the minds of men generally at the present day. It was the authentic summing-up of Christian experience, of the presuppositions of all Christian history, and of the Christian revelation; and it was not so much logically posited—let alone defended—as the prius of correct interpretation (since the principle was simply unchallenged), as it was simply taken for granted, much as men now take it for granted that the earth is round, moves about the sun, and reckons its history by geological æons of time. Moreover, this position appeared to be historically justified. Had not the true faith vindicated itself in the days long ago, in alliance with and in dependence upon the New Testament, as against the vagaries of Gnosticism and the mythologizing tendencies of an Arius and a Marcion? Was not the church's faith—i.e. the orthodox, 'received' faith or system of doctrine—far more historical, far more consonant with the actual and demonstrable or documented past, than the whims and fancies, the hallucinations and the speculations of the

sects?—‘the sects’ being viewed consistently, even by Protestants, as outside the church. In the broad, general sense this was indubitable, certainly in the minds of the majority. Orthodox Christianity was identifiable with the religion of the New Testament; Montanism, Arianism, Sabellianism, Monarchianism, Monophysitism, and the rest, in spite of affiliations with certain phases of New Testament Christianity, and strong emphasis on isolated texts, were not so identifiable. And who can doubt that, in the main, this view is still a sound and fruitful one? It takes no prolonged examination of the history of doctrine to discover the sanity and security of this position in its general outlines.³

But the modern historical study of the New Testament and of the Bible generally has profoundly modified all this, certainly in its detailed expression. The gravest danger implicit in the old position—and it was all but unavoidable—was that the later formulations of the faith, and the later technical theological details, should be read back into the New Testament: Predestination, the seven sacraments, supra- or sub-lapsarianism, the Anselmic or the Origenistic theology of the atonement, Episcopacy or Presbyterianism as the doctrine of church order, and so on, might all claim—have all claimed—to find their antecedents and vindication in the Scriptures. The exaggerated emphasis upon hard-and-fast formulation of doctrine, in Rome and in early Protestantism alike, and the exaggerated view of scriptural inspiration held by Protestants, equally tended in this same direction and produced similar results. But today the method is entirely different. Room is left for development and evolution, in doctrine, in ecclesiastical organization, in world-view, even in ethical outlook. It is not expected that modern, or even

³ No reader of Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte* will fail to recall his demonstration of this point: e.g. i. 563ff.; cf. ii. 144. See also Burkitt, *Gospel History and Its Transmission*, pp. 288, 350.

medieval, standards or statements of doctrine will be found, either explicit or implicit, in the New Testament. On the contrary, it is now assumed that the state of doctrine, organization, and ethics must necessarily have been different at a stage some generations and centuries earlier than that in which they are found in any period of history. The claim of unchangedness, of sameness, of identity, is at once under suspicion. *E pur si muove*—History still moves, always moves, and nothing, however sacred, ever continueth in one stay. Hence when we turn to the New Testament, we do not expect to find a fixed and definite system of doctrine, or a fully articulated scheme or plan of church organization. Quite the contrary: we expect to find—and we do find—anticipations, suggestions, foreshadowings of later developments; but we find them in the midst of much else, suggestions that were never followed out, tentative and experimental solutions that were destined to be overlooked and forgotten in the onward-moving development of the church's life.⁴ It takes a genuine faith in the divine mission of the church and in the real guidance of men by the Holy Spirit to study Church History in its earliest period, including the period of the New Testament, from the modern point of view, and to find in it the evidences of inspiration and revelation. And, we may add, this is the only kind of faith likely to endure and to survive the experience. Since historical criticism is inevitable—it is now applied to every institution and every literature coming down out of the past—it is clear that such a faith is the only possible one for intelligent students at the present day.

Thus the emphasis and the approach have changed; but the fact stands out clearer than ever—the New Testament is the church's book. Its contents were produced for the

⁴ The most recent demonstration of this point, on a large scale, is Canon Streeter's *Primitive Church* (1929).

church's edification, enlargement, defense, or consolation. Its suggestions of possible future development were suggestions made within the church, for the development of the church. Its tentative statements of doctrine in new terminology—where they are tentative—were statements of the church's doctrine, of the common consensus of believers: even the least normative of them, in the later sense, were set forth in the belief that they were true to the church's experience and would be acceptable as such—e.g. Paul's doctrine of faith, or the Logos Christology of the Fourth Gospel. The New Testament is not even a 'traditional book' in the sense in which Gilbert Murray applied this term to the *Hexateuch* in brilliant illustration of his theory of the 'rise of the Greek epic';⁵ for the New Testament is no product of a long, slow growth covering seven to ten centuries, or representing a wide social whole like the nation of Israel. Much of it belongs to the literature of 'social control' in a relatively small group; and it grew up within a century at most—the bulk of it came into existence in the course of two generations.

The proper historical approach to the study of the New Testament is thus by way of church history, viz. in its earliest period. Curiously enough, this is quite apparent even in the first great history of the church, by Eusebius of Cæsarea, who wrote early in the fourth century. Allowing, as we must, for his personal bias and for his doctrinal and ecclesiastical predilections, he nevertheless sets the New Testament in its main proper perspective, as the literature of the origins of the church and of the church's formative age, as the church's own book; and it is he who preserves the most important and most germane traditions of its authorship and significance. Even where he is in error, it is evident that

⁵ *Rise of the Greek Epic* (2d ed., 1911), Lecture iv.

he has tried to get at the truth.⁶ The canons of historical criticism which he followed, fairly high for his day, were not the highest; and the tools and materials available to him were not wholly adequate. Such as they are, however, they are in most cases the best that he had—and, by consequence, about the best that we have, for the case in hand. For the New Testament is the earliest of early Christian literature, and contains practically all that survives in the way of written documents from the first two or three generations of the church's life. It is, of course, not all one uniform book, but a collection. It represents not one sole dominating view, but a variety of views, so that one can trace with considerable accuracy the different directions in which Christian thought and feeling advanced, as well as—with some limitations—the geographical and numerical expansion of the church, and also the stages in the earliest development of the church's theology and ethics, worship and organization.

As the literature of a movement and of a community, the New Testament grew up in a series of blocks or groups of writings. It seems extraordinary, at first glance, that this is so; but it is the general rule in literary history. No great writer works in isolation; and certainly no ordinary writer does so. There were plays before Shakespeare, and after. Greek Tragedy is a clustering galaxy of stars. Dante was not the only canzonist of his time; and there was not one Victorian or New England poet—there were poets.

We may distinguish six such groups of writings within the New Testament.

(1) The *Epistles of Paul*—the earliest group, and these, indeed, separable into three main groups written some years apart.

(2) The *Synoptic Gospels*, built about earlier documents and resting upon a steadily developed tradition reaching

⁶ For Eusebius' own view of his enterprise, see H. E. i. 1. 3-8.

back to the earliest days of the church's history and to the events and the Person recorded.

With these is naturally grouped the Acts of the Apostles, as the continuation of the Third Gospel and of the record of the beginnings of the church.

(3) The *Pastoral Epistles*, perhaps based upon earlier epistolary writings, and, indeed, quite possibly upon a fourth group of Pauline Epistles; but considerably modified to meet the situation toward the close of the first century—or possibly even later.

(4) The *Apocalypse of John*, apparently isolated, but really one of a large number of Jewish and Christian apocalypses, and almost certainly containing earlier Jewish as well as Christian material.

(5) A group of *Catholic Apostolic writings*, ascribed usually to apostles, but showing clear affiliations with such extra-canonical writings as the Didache, I Clement, the Epistle of Barnabas, etc., whose point of view is that of the turn of the century and of the early second century. The New Testament group is but the earlier representatives—or subgroup—of a class of writings more usually associated with the Apostolic Fathers. As attributed to an apostle, even the 'Apocalypse of John' may be numbered in this group.

(6) The *Johannine Literature*, i.e. three Epistles and a 'Gospel' (the Apocalypse belongs above in another classification, and shares with these writings no more than the author's name, which was a common enough one in Jewish and early Christian circles). The outlook and aim of the Johanne 'epistles' are different from those of the Pauline, the Pastoral, and the Catholic Apostolic group; while the 'Gospel' in no way belongs in the same category as the Synoptists, nor yet with the Apocryphal Gospels—the earlier of which were far closer in purpose, outlook and style to the Synoptics than to 'John'—but is a unique book of the early second

century, designed to be a two-fold Apologia for the church's faith, confuting the slanders of the Jews and commending it to sympathetic pagans.

One might go on and name the types of literature produced in the church down to the time of Constantine and Eusebius—apologetic, exegetic, polemic, historical, hortatory, disciplinary, legislative, personal and biographical, epistolary, theological—and show how some of these elaborated types were already emergent in the New Testament; and how these likewise appeared as a rule in groups, one writer apparently provoking or inspiring others to write, and the church preserving the best, or at least the most useful, of their productions to posterity—and this at a time when the possession of Christian writings was often a dangerous and sometimes an indictable offense.⁷ But enough has been said to make it clear that the New Testament writings were all produced within the church, by the church (i.e. by its members), and for the church (i.e. designed to serve its purposes and meet its needs). They were all 'church books' from the start. The Gospels presupposed the common tradition of Jesus' words and deeds; and even Luke's Gospel, which is dedicated to Theophilus, and might appear therefore a less impersonal writing, makes use of a wider range of traditional (written or oral) material than either Mark or Matthew. The Epistles of Paul were obviously addressed to Christian communities, and were occasioned for the most part by problems that arose within these communities. They took the place of personal visitations—

⁷ For the earlier period, see P. Wendland, *Die Urchristliche Literaturformen* (1912); M. Dibelius, *Geschichte der Urchristl. Literatur*, i-ii (1926); for the later period, the standard histories, e.g. Harnack's *Geschichte der altchr. Literatur bis Eusebius* (four vols. incl. *Chronologie*, 1893-1904), or G. Krüger, *History of Early Christian Literature* (1897), which is still useful. On the possession of Christian books as an indictable offense, see Eusebius H. E. viii. 3. 4. The edict of Diocletian provided that the Christian Scriptures were to be burned—an 'entirely new' provision as McGiffert notes (N.P.F. i. 324, note 6).

a poor substitute, in Paul's view: "The rest will I set in order when I come" (I Cor. xi. 34). It is significant that the only personal letter in the collection, apart from sundry postscripts and conclusions to the other epistles, is a mere note, in length, and could easily have been penned on one side of a scrap of papyrus: I refer, of course, to St. Paul's Letter to Philemon.⁸ It is the most personal letter in the New Testament—the formal addresses of 'the Elder' (II–III John) do not bear comparison—and it is almost the briefest. And as for the later groups of writings, Revelation (addressed explicitly to 'the seven churches'), the Pastorals, the Johannine literature, and the Catholic Apostolic group, it is obvious at once that these are all embraced within the designation, 'church books.' Over them all might go the motto: 'No Scripture is of private interpretation' (II Peter i. 20). There was no biography for its own sake, no fiction with which to while away idle hours (unknown to most early Christians!), no ambitious objective historical writing addressed, like the work of Thucydides or Polybius, to the educated world (Luke's aim is clearly different), no poetry or drama (save the solemn lyric rhythm of many of Jesus' sayings, come down out of Jewish Christian tradition, and one or two snatches of simple early hymns), no philosophy or dialogue: none of the major literary forms of the classical age or of the contemporary Græco-Roman world is represented in the New Testament.⁹ As time went on, and, indeed, before the second century was out, Christians endeavored to write dialogues, poems, and romances; but they were not altogether successful, nor did the stern puritanic

⁸ Deissmann gives a number of examples of letters of similar length in ch. iii of his *Light from the Ancient East* (E.T., new ed., 1927).

⁹ Not only the Gospels but even the Epistles, for the most part, fall under Dibelius' classification of *Kleinliteratur*, and reflect both the practical needs and lowly social status of the Christians, and also the originally oral form of the Christian tradition. *Gesch. Urchr. Lit.* i. 7f. See also Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, ch. x.

eye of the church look with entire favor upon such undertakings of her children. Life was too dreadfully earnest a matter for dalliance with such 'light literature,' inevitably redolent of all manner of pagan associations. The general attitude was comparable to that taken toward the reading of novels, in evangelical circles, up to as recent a time as a quarter century ago; and probably for a precisely similar reason—one having its roots in the social attitudes and prejudices of the lower middle class quite as much as in the 'sound religion and morals' of that same class. Certainly, nothing of the sort was even thought of in the period of the New Testament.

The New Testament was the church's book; and nothing merely personal, or merely literary, was included within its covers by the toiling, struggling, outwardly oppressed but inwardly triumphant believers in Christ who stood in jeopardy every hour for their faith in him.

GROUPS OF EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITINGS

- | | | | |
|--------|--|---|---|
| 50 | I-II Thessalonians. | } | The Pauline Epistles, in
three groups. |
| 51 | Galatians. | | |
| 55 | I-II Corinthians. | | |
| 56 | Romans. | | |
| 59-61 | Philippians.
Philemon.
Colossians.
(Ephesians?) | } | Early Christian Apoca-
lyptic. |
| 65 | Letters to the Seven Churches
(Apoc. Jn. i-iii). | | |
| 66 | The Little Apocalypse
(Mk. xiii). | | |
| | | | |
| 68 | Gospel of Mark. | } | Synoptic Gospels and
Acts. |
| 85 | Gospel of Luke. | | |
| 95 | Book of Acts | | |
| 95-112 | Gospel of Matthew. | | |
| | I-II Timothy.
Titus. | } | The Pastoral Epistles. |
| 95 | Apocalypse of John. | | |
| | Hebrews.
I Peter.
Jude.
James. | } | A 'Catholic apostolic'
group. |
| 98 | I Clement. | | |

100-125	I-II-III John. Gospel of John.	} Asiatic.
115	Epistles of Ignatius.	
117	Epistle of Polycarp.	
120	Quadratus' Apology.	
	Teaching of the XII Apostles.	} Later 'apostolic' writings.
130	Epistle of Barnabas.	
135	Shepherd of Hermas.	
140	Aristides' Apology. Epistle to Diognetus.	} Apologetic works.
150	Tatian's Oration.	
	Justin's Apologies and Dialogue.	
	II Peter.	} Apocryphal; based on Jude.

The purpose of this chart is not to display a chronological scheme, since the dates are in many instances either uncertain or only approximate. But even with an approximate dating it is clear that the early Christian writings appeared for the most part in groups. These groups may reflect not only stages of authorship, but also primitive collections of writings, in the earliest period in the history of the Canon. On either view, they reflect the growing interest of the church.

II

WHY WE HAVE GOSPELS

THE old High Anglican view expressed in the formula, 'The Church to teach, the Bible to prove,' had at least this justification: the church came *before* the New Testament, and the latter is to be studied as the church's own book, as the church's formal selection from its own earliest literature of those writings which were useful for edification, for admonition, and for the maintenance both of the orthodoxy of its teaching and of its contact with history, i.e. the historical substantiation of its position, the 'proof' of the divine origin of the Christian message and way of salvation. Both these motives were at work in the period when the New Testament arose as a sacred collection some time in the second century.

But the question arises, both from the older point of view and from the more modern, Why do we have Gospels? How did the Christian tradition come to be written down in this particular form? Other religions have nothing of the kind, and the data for the lives of their founders are usually recovered only from documents of much later date, relatively to religious origins, than our Gospels, and often in most scattered and inconsequent form. The origins of Mandaeism, for example, are buried in the phantasmagorian mists of the sacred legends enshrined in the Ginza; the life of Zoroaster is gone almost beyond recall—it is uncertain even in what century to place his appearance; the anecdotes told of the rabbis were only *dissecta membra*, affording almost no material for an account of their lives; while the founding of Judaism, in the days of Nehemiah and Ezra, is one of the most debatable fields in religious history; the

legends of Buddha are late, and there is no consistent life of the founder; and the nearest approach to a gospel, the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* by Philostratus, was obviously modeled on the New Testament Gospels, and was designed to provide Julian the Apostate and his circle with a sacred *Evangelion* in the interests of the revived and Platonized paganism which he proposed to substitute for Christianity.¹ How, then, did it come to pass that the church has provided itself with Gospels?

The question has been approached more than once from the point of view of literary history, but without an entirely satisfactory solution. Such analogies as we find in Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, or in Suetonius, or in the popular *Lives of the Sophists*, *Lives of the Philosophers*, and so on—popular in the later classical period—do not go very far. Professor Cadbury (*The Making of Luke-Acts*, ch. x) has probably pursued the evidence as far as anyone, and he has not arrived at anything exactly analogous. Xenophon's *Memorabilia of Socrates*, upon which Professor Votaw and others have laid considerable stress,² is too old an example, too individualistic in its outlook and aim, to provide an exact parallel—though Justin Martyr and others in the early church did not scruple to apply the term *Memoirs* (ἀπομνημονεύματα) to the evangelic writings.³ On the contrary, it appears that the Gospels were not biographies, or memoirs, or even memorabilia, written by individuals as accounts of the life and teaching of Jesus; but, rather, were compilations of traditional material handed down within the church, handed down orally and then later written out and compiled in the interest of the church and for its pur-

¹ Cf. C. Elsee, *Neoplatonism and Christianity* (1908), esp. ch. v.

² *American Journal of Theol.*, xix (1915), pp. 45ff., 217ff.

³ Apol. i. 67. Justin's purpose was doubtless, as Dibelius notes (*Gesch.* i. 41), merely to suggest to educated readers the general contents and purpose of the Gospels, not their literary classification.

poses of edification, worship, discipline, or defense. The purely literary interest was neither paramount nor primary. The name of the author or compiler is only accidentally retained, so to speak, or is added as an after-thought—as in the second century when the Gospels were being collected into a group, and separate names were required to distinguish them one from another, and when, nevertheless, the title of the group as a whole was ‘the Gospel’ (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον), while the several books bore only the legend, ‘according to (κατὰ) Mark, Matthew, etc.’⁴ It is the origin of the Gospels that explains their literary uniqueness. They are not biographies written by *literati* for the reading public of their day, like the *Lives* of the Cæsars, the Sophists, the Grammarians, or the Philosophers. Nor were they written for a school, to be studied by the followers of a philosopher, like Porphyry’s much later *Life of Plotinus*. They are, rather, the literature of a movement; and when we consider in what environment that movement arose, it is not surprising that they contain so little; the surprising thing is that they contain so much, in the way of a narrative of the life of our Lord. For the Jews, as a rule, made no attempt to cultivate biography: neither prophet nor wise man, scribe nor later rabbi, was the subject of an extended and continuous biographical account. All the more surprising is it, therefore, that the early Christian Church did actually produce a class of literature which belongs in a general way under the category of biography. And it is significant, I think, that the first impetus in this direction was felt at Rome—not in Palestine or Syria, but far away in the Hellenized West, in the literary and political capital of the empire. It was only long after Mark was written and brought to Syria that the Gospel of Matthew appeared—a new edition of Mark, with other material incorporated; while Luke, and even Proto-

⁴ Cf. Harnack, *Origin of the New Testament* (E. T., 1925), pp. 68ff.

Luke if we accept the hypothesis, was equally a Gentile writing; in its final form (as the Gospel of Luke) it owes much to the Marcan outline of Jesus' public life.

But the question is not, Why did the church produce biographies of Jesus?—since the distinction must steadily be borne in mind between our Gospels and the Græco-Roman type of biographical literature; the question really is, How did it come to pass that 'Gospels' came into existence? And the answer to this question, in fact, requires a wide consideration of the factors affecting literary production of any kind in the early church.

It goes without saying that the earliest evangelical narratives were oral. The whole problem—and the proposed solutions—of *Formgeschichte* lie within this area. The existence of oral tradition is not only a basic presupposition of the written Gospels (see once more the Preface to Luke), whose form and contents can by no means be explained otherwise; but we actually have evidence of the existence of this tradition in the period prior to the earliest of them. Not only does the earliest preaching of the Christian message, reflected in the opening chapters of the book of Acts, imply the repetition of teaching about Jesus, his words and 'mighty works'; but in a famous passage in I Cor. xv, St. Paul reminds his readers that he 'delivered unto them first of all that which he also had received' (vs. 3)—viz. the tradition of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ. And it was the testimony of 'the eyewitnesses' referred to by Luke which doubtless became their message as 'ministers of the word.' Such a late reference as that in the Pastoral Epistles to the 'form [or 'pattern'] of sound words' probably involves something more than a bare formula⁵ like the inchoate creed of First Corin-

⁵ II Tim. i. 13 *ὑποτύπωμα*; but cf. Rom. vi. 17 *τύπος*. If a late date be admitted for II Timothy, the probability is increased that something quasi-credal, and not simply ethical, is referred to in i. 13; certainly fixed traditions (of the kind already suggested in I Cor. xv) are not beyond the realm of possibility.

thians, 'Jesus is Lord,'⁶ though probably something quite unlike the 'Catechism of Early Christianity' which certain German scholars have posited as the teaching medium of the early church.⁷ In fact, the material found in the documents Q and L, and in certain of the stereotyped narratives of Mark, must certainly be reckoned with as part of the 'catechetical' subject matter of the first two generations.⁸

The delay in writing down this material, which seems so unnatural to modern readers, accustomed as we are to ubiquitous printed communications and records, is to be accounted for in several ways. That is, there were not one but several factors that combined to make writing unlikely, and delay inevitable. (1) In the first place, the earliest Christians were not a literary, not even, for the most part, an educated group—as we should define 'educated.' 'Not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called; but God chose the foolish things of the world, that he might put to shame them that are wise. . . .' (I Cor. i. 26ff.). They were the humble, the simple, and many of them were no doubt illiterate. God chose to reveal himself to 'babes'—'little ones' is an interchangeable synonym for disciples in one important section of the Palestinian or Syrian Gospel of Matthew (x. 42, xi. 25, etc.).⁹ Their very language, when they did come to write, was, as Deissmann has conclusively shown,¹⁰ the language of the masses; not illiterate, but certainly nonliterary. Education was still in large measure the possession of the aristocracy and of the well-to-do, in the first century, in spite of the exceptions—

⁶ I Cor. xii. 3; cf. Rom. x. 9.

⁷ For example, A. Seeberg. See Harnack's note, in *Dogmengesch.*⁴ i. 66.

⁸ See now Professor Easton's article, 'The First Evangelic Tradition,' in *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, 1 (1931), pp. 148ff.

⁹ Derived partly from Mark. See Rawlinson's note on Mk. viii. 27-x. 45 (Commentary, pp. 108-111).

¹⁰ Chiefly in his *Light from the Ancient East*, new ed. 1927.

Epictetus, for example, who was born a slave, but lectured daily on the Stoic classics to his classes at Nicopolis. When the gospel established itself in Rome, it was probably among the slaves in the royal household, and among the Jews in their scattered neighborhoods.¹¹ The earliest Gospel (Mark) shows what rugged, homespun Greek they used; and with it tallies the spelling and grammar of some of the early epitaphs. Add to this, for the still earlier period of the preaching of the gospel in Palestine, the custom of the oral transmission of religious teaching—that of the rabbis is strictly in point—and it is obvious that the motive for writing down an account of our Lord's teaching would not emerge very early—in fact, not until special circumstances rendered it necessary, while the narrative of his life would come later still, if at all.¹² As we have seen, the motive to provide the latter arose first in the Gentile church, and was first carried into effect by non-Jews.

(2) A second factor was the cost of materials—prohibitive for the ordinary person. Not without reason are the nonliterary papyri found buried in the sands of Egypt mere scraps and fragments, for the most part, and along with them broken bits of soft pottery upon which the natives scratched their missives, records, and accounts. Even literary writers took account of the length of their 'tomes,' or 'cuts,' of rolled papyrus upon which books were to be in-

¹¹ See C. Bigg, *Origins of Christianity*, ch. ii, 'The Foundation of the Church of Rome.' Also Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, i. 1, pp. 26, 61. The chief Jewish neighborhoods were in the Trastevere, the Campus Martius, and the Subura (Schürer, iii.⁴ 60, 65). The oldest Jewish cemetery (older than the second century) was outside the Porta Portuensis, i. e. across the Tiber from the Emporium, and near the present Trastevere Railway Station. It is noteworthy both that the Jews of Rome were not segregated, as were those of Alexandria (at one time, at least—cf. Schürer, p. 36), though they doubtless lived in neighborhoods; and that they lived near the city's center of trade.

¹² That is, the narrative of his life (or public ministry, death, and resurrection) as a continuous whole. The separate narratives of incidents from his life were no doubt in circulation as early as the sayings. Cf. Jülicher-Fascher, *Einleitung*⁷ (1931), pp. 360f.; Bultmann, *Gesch. Syn. Trad.*² (1931), p. 8.

scribed. As Sanday and others have shown,¹³ the standard size of a 'tome' probably had something to do with the length of the Gospels, Acts, Romans, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. Nothing seems cheaper than paper and ink at the present day! Our morning newspaper contains the equivalent, in type, of a good-sized book. Our post office reports show a staggering amount of correspondence passing through the mails day by day. But turn back to as modern a writer as Emerson, and examine his correspondence with Carlyle, and note how he brings his letters to a close, more than once—abruptly, to avoid taking another sheet of paper! And in the ancient world the cost of writing materials, for the production and reproduction of books, was really no inconsiderable item, certainly for the poor among whom the gospel first spread abroad in the world. I think it is significant here also that the first writing which purported in any sense to be a 'life' of our Lord (the Gospel of Mark) came from the Hellenistic church—indeed, from one of the book distributing centers of the ancient world.

(3) Another factor, and one that had a very real bearing upon the production of written narratives of the life and teaching of our Lord, was the prevalent expectation of the Parousia. If 'the end of all things' was at hand; if any day might be the last; if every event of importance in popular rumor or report might be of significance for the approaching end—then it is clear that those who shared such views would be in no frame of mind to write records of the past. Above all, if the Lord, who tarried only for a time in heaven until his final manifestation in glory, was already and continuously in communication with his church, through the message of 'prophets' and the activity of 'workers of miracles'; if, in brief, the life of Jesus upon earth was only what he

¹³ *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, ch. i. F. C. Kenyon, *Textual Criticism of the New Testament*² (1926), pp. 33ff.

'*began* both to do and to teach,' the continuation of his work being just as real in the present, leading up to 'still greater things than these' shortly to be accomplished, then it is clear that the motive to write down his life and teaching was destined to come only slowly into the church's consciousness, and become operative only after the primitive apocalyptic enthusiasm had begun to wane in some slight degree. And it is significant, I think, that the mood reflected in Mark and in Proto-Luke is not quite the same flaming apocalypticism that we can discover in or infer from some of the other sources. While the 'eschatological temper' continued at white heat, there was neither the mood nor the motive to write an account of Jesus' life. The kind of book the 'apocalyptic' mood produced is to be seen, rather, in the Apocalypse of John, in Fourth Ezra, II Baruch, and the other apocalypses.¹⁴

(4) Finally, there was the difficulty of collecting data. How could the ordinary Christian find the time to go about collecting data for the life of Christ, or the earliest period of the church's life—as Hegesippus certainly did in the second century, and as Luke doubtless did in the first? By the time the need for written records had come to be felt—upon the death of those who had been 'eyewitnesses' as well as 'ministers of the word'—the church was spread far beyond the borders of Palestine; and even within Palestine, it had been 'scattered' more than once, as a result of persecution. With but few exceptions the primitive disciples had been disbanded; Peter had gone to Antioch, and then to Rome; and the tradition of a dispersal of the apostles is probably not to be credited entirely to later inference from the first chapter of Acts. Moreover, in Galilee, the scene of Jesus' own ministry, the church seems never to have taken real

¹⁴ The Gospel of Matthew, I believe (like the Apocalypse of John, though they are by no means related), represents a *revival* of apocalypticism, in a particular locality and under special circumstances, some time about the beginning of the second century. See ch. vii.

root. It is difficult to describe more than one or two of the Galilean traditions as in any sense *local* traditions or legends (e.g. the Gerasene incident¹⁵); the gospel narratives simply do not bear upon them the impress of any particular locality, and it is a real problem the evangelists face in trying to adjust their materials to a chronological and topographical framework. Only too palpably do the sources themselves betray the strain and tension of ostracism and persecution suffered by those who handed them down—expulsion from the synagogue, derision and excommunication at the hands of their neighbors. And the woes pronounced upon the towns where Jesus did his ‘mighty works’—Chorazin, Bethsaida, Capernaum—are scarcely understandable if we are to suppose them to have been centers of Christian missionary work in the generation following our Lord’s death. It is as *communities* that they are condemned; it is certainly, therefore, as communities that they had rejected the gospel. Even Nazareth, where Jesus grew to manhood, had been guilty from the first of impenitence and lack of faith: ‘He could there do no mighty work . . . because of their unbelief’ (Mark vi. 5–6).

It is surely significant that the earliest ecclesiastical tradition connects the writing of the first gospel (St. Mark) with the death of Peter—the living voice of the Martyr Apostle was silenced, and ‘afterwards,’ so Irenæus says, Mark wrote down what he remembered of Peter’s testimony.¹⁶

Thus it required time for the need to be felt, and it required also individuals to specialize upon the task of gathering together the available material. Communities provide tradition, conserving it, handing it on; but communities do not write books—they are the work of individuals. So it has always been. The great classical histories are the work of

¹⁵ Mark v. 1–20. See on this subject Burkitt, *Christian Beginnings*, pp. 84, 89f.

¹⁶ Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 8. 2–3.

individuals—Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius, Dio Cassius; and so it was in the early church—Mark, Luke, Hegesippus, Papias, Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret—individuals arose, with an increasing historical sense, and wrote down the material available at their time. And as we have seen, the motive for historical writing was not present from the first; it was slow in appearing, and hence delay was inevitable. The strange thing is not that our gospel records are so incomplete; the wonder is that we have any at all! Only exceptional circumstances and requirements could give rise to written records of the life of Jesus; otherwise, there was nothing in the situation to give occasion for them.

And yet it became inevitable, after a time, that written accounts should appear. Over against the motives just noted, operative in the first generation, there were others, destined to become effective in the second and third generations.

(1) First of these was no doubt the motive of missionary propaganda. Out in the broad Mediterranean world, outside Palestine, the use of the written word was being increasingly recognized, in our period, as a medium for the dissemination of religious teaching. The Epistles of St. Paul, 'occasional writings' at best, and really letters in their primary intent, had easily become in the apostle's hand a means of reiterating his teaching and missionary preaching in Corinth, Galatia, Thessalonica, Philippi. Nor were other teachers unaware of the value of the written address—as Dio Chrysostom makes clear, and the widespread use of the *diatribe* by Cynic and Stoic philosophers. It was inevitable that such a medium should be adopted in time by the Christians, and such writings in the New Testament as Hebrews and the Epistle of James make clear its use; as time went on, the use became more widespread, though it was never

entirely severed from the community.¹⁷ All along, the missionary was a man, not a pamphlet, and the instruction of those who were to preach and teach the gospel by word of mouth remained more important than the formation of a tract-distributing society.

(2) Another motive for writing was the edification of new converts. 'That thou mayest know the certainty of the things wherein thou hast been instructed' (Luke i. 4) was an early motive and a strong one.¹⁸ Since the gospel meant more than simply repentance, even a 'way of life,' it was necessary that the teaching of Christ—conceived first of all, no doubt, as a guide to the disciples¹⁹—should be set forth in explicit terms. And even though this might for a long time be sufficiently presented in stereotyped oral form, it was inevitable that eventually it should be written down, at least as a guide for the instructors themselves. As Schürer has shown (*Geschichte* i. 122), even in such an obviously oral compendium as the Mishna,²⁰ there are traces of a beginning of written notes or memorabilia as early as a century before its final compilation in writing. And if the teaching of Jesus came to be written down in this way, it was inevitable that incidents from his life should follow; since much of his teaching was embedded in incident, conversation, or narrative. Moreover, the Passion Narrative, the earliest

¹⁷ Examples: I Clement, Epistle to Diognetus, the 'Epistle of Barnabas,' etc. However, the 'diatribe' is scarcely the clue to the Pauline epistles, though it is not surprising that some parallels are to be noted between the Pauline letters and this popular form of written exhortation. Cf. Bultmann, *Stil der paulin. Predigt und die Kyn.-stoische Diatribe*, 1910; Wendland, *Hell.-Röm. Kultur*, 75ff.; *Urchr. Lit.-formen*, 356ff.

¹⁸ Unless, as Cadbury (*Expositor* viii (1921), pp. 431-41; *Beginnings of Christianity* ii. 510; *Making of Luke-Acts*, ch. xx) and Riddle (*Jour. of Rel.*, x. 545-562) suggest, 'instructed' should be translated 'heard'—i.e. the reference in the Lucan Preface is to the charges against Christians. But if this reference fails, there are others. Cf. B. S. Easton, in *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, l. 148ff.

¹⁹ Cf. J. Weiss, *Urchristentum*, pp. 56-59.

²⁰ Drawn up c. 200 A. D. for school purposes, as a textbook of law, but based upon the oral traditions of the earlier rabbinic authorities.

consecutive account (along with the narrative of the Resurrection²¹) to be cast in formal shape, could not avoid taking the form of the final chapter in the earthly life of Jesus. It was the Passion Narrative, without doubt, that provided the original nucleus of the Gospels.

(3) A third motive, offsetting one already noted among the factors accounting for the late appearance of the Gospels, was the delay of the Parousia. To understand this, it is not necessary to come all the way down into the second century, when we meet with the question, 'Where is the promise of his coming?' (II Peter iii. 4), and find Christians stumbling over the problem of the death of an apostle whom they expected would survive to the coming of the Lord (John xxi. 23). For even in the first century there were those whose 'love had waxed cold,' as we learn from the Apocalypse of John and the Gospel of Matthew, who had come to question 'the time of the end' and required to be told that it was not for them to know, since 'that day and hour' lay solely within the Father's authority.²²

As delay succeeded delay, and the end was 'not yet,' and postponement of the expectation weakened its hold upon men's minds, the old motive lost force—it was necessary now to gather up the teaching of Jesus, even on this very subject, and to study it afresh. New interpretations were introduced. 'The gospel must first be preached unto all the nations' before the end could come (so Mark). 'The times of the Gentiles [must] be fulfilled' (so Luke). The Gentiles must first be evangelized, even before Israel itself could be saved—now that the nation had rejected the Messiah and called down his blood upon themselves (so Matthew).²³

Hence the delay in the Parousia operated in a twofold

²¹ The two are *combined* in I Corinthians xv. 3ff.

²² Mt. xxiv. 12; Ap. Jn. ii. 4; iii. 16, etc.; Acts i. 7.

²³ Mk. xiii. 10; Lk. xxi. 24; Mt. xxiv. 14; xxviii. 19f.

way: it removed the inhibition upon writing which held good while apocalyptic Messianism had been at fever pitch; and it made necessary both the further conservation of Jesus' teaching and of the narratives of his life, and likewise the fresh study of his actual words. We can see this motive at work in even so highly 'apocalyptic-eschatological' a gospel as Matthew, where the exalted view of the Parousia is no more obvious than the problem of its delay.

(4) Still another motive is to be seen in the nascent historical and biographical interests of certain individuals, chiefly of the author of Luke—though the motive is not wholly lacking in Mark or in Matthew, or even in John. In Mark it takes the form of an attempt to show that Christianity is grounded in actual history; i.e. Jesus, the Lord of the church's faith and worship, was actually Messiah while he walked upon earth, and therefore was justly exalted to God's right hand, and was rightly the object of the church's adoration and highest hopes. Even the Roman centurion at the cross had testified, 'Truly this was a Son of God.'²⁴ For Matthew it took the form of a demonstration of Jesus' Messiahship from Old Testament prophecy—both prediction and prototype—so that if the Jews would but read the scripture with the clue now afforded them, they would find it 'fulfilled' in Christ. And for John, later still, it took the form of a proof (against Docetists and Gnostics and unbelievers) that Jesus in his earthly life was really human, really walked in Galilee, thirsted and wept, and died a human death. Thus the historical or biographical motive, though not strong, and far from primary, was really present and operated with increasing force as considerations steadily accumulated leading to the conservation of all that could be obtained regarding the actual life of Jesus upon earth, in addition to his teaching.

²⁴ Mark xv. 39.

(5) Another motive was one which sprang into prominence as a result of the controversy with Jews and heretics. The extent and importance of this we shall see when we come to consider separately the Gospels of Mark and Matthew; here it is sufficient to note that the simplest answer to the calumnies of 'the Jews' regarding Jesus' birth and Resurrection (as we see in Matthew) was to state the facts as they had actually occurred, in accordance with the tradition handed down within the church.²⁵ And if some of the scribal and Pharisaic attacks were still leveled against Jesus' disciples, rather than against Jesus himself (e.g. the question of fasting, in Mark) it was sufficient to state the answer the Lord himself had given, long before, to this very charge. No better answer could be given!

(6) Still another motive, one that took on special significance in the days of Nero and again in those of Domitian, and was probably not absent for long at any time during the interval, was the apologetic one: viz. to set Christianity in the right light in the eyes of the governing class and of Roman officialdom generally. It is quite clearly at work in the Lucan writings—especially in Acts; and it certainly had a bearing upon the form taken by the Passion Narrative almost from the start. Obviously, Jesus had been put to death as a disturber of the peace and an insurgent, if not an active revolutionist. The placard over his cross had read, 'This is Jesus, King of the Jews.' Furthermore, his followers had been conspicuous for the tumults and disturbances that sprang up wherever they went. It was, of course, possible to view Christianity as a sect of Judaism—and therefore deserving of the special protection afforded the practice of that religion; and Luke is not blind to this opening for defense. But at best the Jews were a turbulent lot—as Roman officials

²⁵ Mt. i. 18-20; xxviii. 15. On the controversial element in the tradition, cf. Jülicher-Fascher, 360ff.; Bultmann, *Gesch.*, 39ff.

knew, sometimes to their cost;²⁶ moreover, when the Jews themselves came to 'cast out the name' as evil, it was necessary for other defenses to be set up. These we can see still standing in the accounts of our Lord's words regarding the tribute money and, especially, in the accounts of his trial and crucifixion. And there are still other evidences: the healing of the centurion's servant, for example, certainly a friendly deed done to a Gentile, and the 'two swords' of the disciples on Passover eve—an utterly insignificant arsenal for a band of revolutionists!²⁷

(7) Still another motive may be seen in the purely literary interest—we have no other name for it—of such a writer or writers as gave us the incomparable passage, 'Consider the lilies . . .' or the Parable of the Good Samaritan. These are pure prose-poetry of the highest order. Not that the religious motive was secondary in writing down such passages; but it is clear that a standard of literary beauty, quite on a par with the highest flights of Old Testament poetry and prophecy, was set up for some of those who recorded the teaching of our Lord.

Furthermore, the implications of the Prologue to Luke, examining these four verses as Professor Cadbury has done in the light of other literary efforts,²⁸ make it clear that in the course of time the church really made an attempt to interest educated circles, and put forth writings comparable to the finest prose narratives of the Hellenistic-Roman world.

(8) Other motives were at work, such as the liturgical—a motive almost certainly affecting the form, and to some extent the contents, of Matthew, and perhaps also of John.

²⁶ A repeated touch in Acts: e.g. xvii. 13; xviii. 2, 14-17; xix. 33; xx. 3; xxi. 27; xxiii. 12, etc. It would not be surprising if this feature was designed to win the sympathetic ear of Roman officialdom.

²⁷ Luke vii. 2ff.; xxii. 38.

²⁸ *Beginnings of Christianity*, ii. 489-510. *The Making of Luke-Acts*, chh. xv, xx.

(9) Another was the encouragement of Christians in persecution, and, indeed, as in Mark, faced with the clear probability of martyrdom—‘he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved’ (xiii. 13).

(10) Still another motive was the formulation of a kind of incipient canon law—far in advance of the guidance of converts noted above and destined to be still more highly developed in the *Didache*, later on, and in the *Didascalia* and *Apostolic Constitutions*, but recognizable even in our Gospel of Matthew.

(11) Another was the motive of philosophical apologetic, as in John, where St. Paul’s identification of Christ with the Logos, ‘in whom all things consist,’²⁹ is carried through consistently as an interpretation of Christ as the Revealer, indeed as the Theophany or Manifestation, of the Father.

There were no doubt still other motives at work in the production of the Gospels; but these are sufficient to make it clear that the production of biographies, in the modern sense, or even in the ancient classical sense, was but one among many, and, indeed, probably an extremely minor one. ‘Why we have Gospels,’ then, is a question to be answered only after a consideration of the motives that were actually operative in the production of the writings that bear this name. Indeed, as we have seen, the term ‘gospel,’ as describing a book, is a late one. For it seems clear that one phase of the creative spiritual life that flowed into the world from Christ was the production of a new literary *genre*, not anticipated by anything that had gone before, and only faintly analogous to other creations of the Hellenistic age, and to be interpreted solely in the light of the needs and aims the Gospels were meant to satisfy. And these needs, let us repeat, were wholly needs and requirements felt *within the church*. For Gospels are preëminently ‘church

²⁹ Col. i. 17.

books,' from beginning to end, and throughout the course of their production, from the earliest sources underlying the Synoptics to the finished Gospels of Luke, Matthew and John. In form, they are the natural result of the effort to set forth 'what Jesus both did and taught,' in the light of the church's need for such records in her teaching, worship, discipline, missionary propaganda, controversy, political and philosophical apologetic.

Why Gospels resulted from this process, rather than diatribes, exhortations, epistles, apocalypses, codes, liturgies, mystic meditations, or other forms of religious literature; or, rather, why Gospels resulted *in addition* to these other forms (all of which are represented in the New Testament and other early Christian literature), is wholly bound up with the purposes and motives that went to their production. It must ever be a cause for devout thankfulness on the part both of the Christian believer and of the scientific historian that these motives were operative—and effective—in the production of the evangelic literature of the New Testament.

III

METHOD IN THE STUDY OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

IT is not surprising that many persons, unfamiliar with the intricacies of Synoptic study, have the general impression that the reconstruction of such basic documents as Q and L is purely hypothetical, 'subjective,' and arbitrary. To some readers it may easily appear that these 'earliest sources' exist only in the highly sensitive and 'suggestible' imaginations of 'higher critics.' Indeed, I have heard well-educated clergymen remark that they 'prefer to take the Gospels as they stand, as the church has received them, and as the church has handed them down.' And it is notorious that many preachers, and some religious educators, treat the Gospels as if the Synoptic criticism of the past fifty years were nonexistent. The underlying assumption seems to be that Synoptic criticism is solely the concern of specialists, and that it either results in further and somewhat superfluous support of the traditional view of Christian origins—support which the Gospels do not greatly need—or else needlessly brings in question the traditional view, in which case it may be suspected of rationalistic and antiorthodox motivation. It may be well, therefore, to point out how few and simple are the steps in the process by which the main outlines of the earlier sources are recovered, and how directly the process leads to the all but inevitable hypothesis of their existence.

(1) It would be going over ground already well trod to undertake to establish the priority of Mark. This practically everyone takes for granted at the present day. Modern 'Harmonies' of the Gospels—like Huck's, published in Ger-

many,¹ and Burton and Goodspeed's, published in Chicago²—take this for granted, and arrange the material accordingly. The 'freshness' and directness of Mark's narrative, which the ordinary reader can recognize for himself; the simpler explanation of Matthew's and Luke's dependence upon Mark as against the more involved one of Mark's derivation from either Matthew or Luke, or from both; the often divergent modifications introduced by the later writers in their adaptation of Mark's material, more easily explicable upon the hypothesis of Mark's priority than upon that of a conflation of materials drawn from Matthew and Luke resulting in the vivid and characteristic, stylistically unified narrative—all this evidence points unmistakably in the direction of the priority of St. Mark.

At the least no one will question the priority of Mark who has worked through Mark and the Matthean and Lucan parallels, word by word, phrase by phrase, underlining the words and phrases and whole sentences in Matthew and Luke which, on this hypothesis, have been taken over from Mark. And, to be perfectly frank, no one has the right to condemn the hypothesis who has not thus worked it out fully in laborious detail. This is the first task which should be set every advanced student of the Synoptics. The following is a simple and easily followed plan: Go through the Synoptics, marking the exact equivalents (to Mark) by underlining Matthew and Luke in unbroken black lines (breaking the lines to indicate inversions in order), and underlining in dotted black lines words and groups of words which are similar and represent only grammatical changes (person, case, tense, voice, mood, or number). This is laborious and minute work; but it is worth all the trouble—one gains a

¹ Tübingen: Mohr, 7th ed., 1928.

² Univ. of Chicago Press, 1920. There is also an edition in English, published by Scribner.

grasp of the problem and of the proposed solution which nothing else can supply.

(2) The next step, for those who wish to test the 'Urmarcus' hypothesis,³ or to gain a clear view of Matthean-Lucan 'omissions' from Mark, or to study the modified 'Urmarcus' theory of such scholars as Professor Rawlinson and the late Johannes Weiss, is to go over *Mark* and underline (again in black, and following the same rule for broken and unbroken and dotted lines) the material which Matthew and Luke have drawn from this common source. One can readily find the passages listed for him, in Sir John Hawkins' *Horæ Synopticæ*,⁴ or in Canon Streeter's *Four Gospels*;⁵ but he will have a much surer grasp of their significance if he works through the Gospel himself in the manner just described. Nothing can take the place of that first-hand acquaintance with the text which will result from the minute work, carefully and accurately done, which this task involves.

A few words should be added about the textual apparatus supplied at the foot of the page in the standard Harmonies. Huck's volume was originally designed to accompany H. J. Holtzmann's Commentary on the Synoptics in his *Hand-Kommentar*, first published in 1889. Very naturally it followed the text which Holtzmann presupposed—a text based largely on Tischendorf, and reflecting, accordingly, a marked preference for the readings of the Sinaitic MS *Aleph*, which, it will be recalled, Tischendorf himself had discovered in 1844. Burton and Goodspeed, on the other hand, presuppose the text of Westcott and Hort—whose preference for

³ Cf. Moffatt, *Int. to the Lit. of the N. T.*, pp. 191ff., 220ff. Rawlinson, *St. Mark*, pp. xxxviff. This is the hypothesis that Matthew or Luke, or both, used an 'edition' of Mark differing from and presumably earlier than the one in our New Testament.

⁴ Second edition, pp. 114–149.

⁵ English edition, pp. 195ff.

the agreements of B and *Aleph* was their primary canon in restoring the text. One does not go far before he discovers that Huck and Goodspeed—or Tischendorf and Westcott-Hort—are in disagreement; and that neither of them agrees with the popular manual edition of Nestle, whose text represents (at least in the earlier editions) a mechanical averaging of Tischendorf, Westcott-Hort, and B. Weiss. There is nothing extraordinary about this; but the student should be warned that the possibility of textual assimilation is nowhere greater than in the Synoptic Gospels, and that the variants at the foot of the page are constantly to be reckoned with. As a rule, *proclivi lectioni præstat ardua*—the divergent variant has the right to first consideration—and sometimes even a vagrant reading (if I may be allowed the expression) has the strongest right. For example, the omission of the definite article before John's title in Mark i. 4, in AD . . . min is trivial enough; but it seems more characteristic of Mark's rugged style than the reading of \aleph B; and it has no equivalent in Matthew or Luke (Matthew and Luke have the definite article before 'John'). Or take Mark i. 7: does the second $\mu\omicron\upsilon$ belong in the text, or is it derived by assimilation from Matthew? The manuscript B and the Alexandrian church father Origen both omit it; but then both B and Origen may represent to a considerable degree a grammatical revision of the earlier text.⁶ These are fairly simple cases. But take Mark ii. 22, which is quite involved, especially in the versions, and where some MSS add, 'But new wine in new wine-skins' (\aleph^* B 102). As Professor Turner pointed out,⁷ this carries on the thought of the first part of the verse ('No one pours new wine into old skins');

⁶ Compare Streeter's view of Origen's text for the later chapters of Mark in his *Commentary on John*, which he thinks derived from the 'Cæsarean' type of text lying back of W and 'Family Theta'; see *The Four Gospels*, ch. iv and App. v.

⁷ In Gore's *Commentary*, ad loc. See also *Jour. of Theol. Studies*, xxvi. 147, and Rawlinson's *Commentary*.

what follows is only a parenthesis or an aside—quite in Mark's moralistic manner, however, and not necessarily due to a later scribe. Some other manuscripts (ACL . . . Vss.) add the verb 'is poured,' no doubt assimilated from Luke, and not really required by the language of Mark, whether or not a parenthesis intervenes between the first and last parts of the verse. The significance of such a textual addition—or omission, whichever it is—will appear more fully in dealing with the common material of Matthew and Luke outside Mark. For if the final words, 'New wine in new wine-skins,' belong to Mark, the agreement of Matthew and Luke in using them is no greater than their agreement throughout the whole preceding passage—and throughout the passage following as well. On the other hand, if the words do not really belong to Mark, as Huck suggests, then we have here one more of the Matthean-Lucan agreements against Mark, i.e. a common addition in a Marcan context, requiring special consideration from the Synoptic student. Coincidence is ruled out; conflation is possible, but improbable; perhaps the words represent a stray echo of Q—the great non-Marcan source common to Matthew and Luke—though it is strange that no other traces of Q exist in the immediate neighborhood. More probable than all these conjectures is the hypothesis that the words once belonged to Mark, but were later lost out of the text—perhaps by some early copyist who failed to see their connection with what immediately preceded, especially since the sentence lacked a verb. This was before ACL and the Vss.—or one of their Greek ancestors—had added *βλητέον*, 'is to be poured.'

(3) The third step in the construction of one's own apparatus for Synoptic study is to go through the passages in which Matthew and Luke are parallel to one another, outside Mark, and underline in the same fashion, but now in *red*, words and groups of words which they have in com-

mon—with unbroken lines for exact equivalents and exactly the same order, broken lines for different order, and dotted lines for the same word used in different grammatical constructions. The result will be astonishing, to one who has supposed 'Q' to be a figment of the critic's imagination! Page after page will show hundreds of words in common, many of them arranged in exactly the same order and given in the same grammatical form, sometimes whole blocks of passages appearing in the same form and order in Matthew and Luke. For example, the Preaching of John the Baptist in Matthew iii. 7-10 closely parallels Luke iii. 7-9; the Temptation Narrative in ch. iv exhibits the same phenomenon; so does the discourse in Matthew x and Luke xii. 'Assimilation' is out of the question, on such a scale as this. 'Oral tradition'—whatever its place in the original formulation of the narratives—is insufficient to account for it. Only a common documentary, i.e. written, source will account for the multitude of agreements, and we may as well call it 'Q' (i.e. *Quelle*, 'Source') as anything else.

(4) The next step is to carry this process back into the *Marcan* narratives, and underline the agreements of Matthew and Luke in *Marcan* contexts—a not-inconsiderable number of such agreements appearing as we go along, and each demanding its explanation, from the point of view of thorough source-criticism. Many of these are doubtless merely 'stylistic,' e.g. Matthew's and Luke's preference of *εἶπεν* to Mark's *λέγει*, for the same procedure can be observed in passages where they do not happen to agree in thus revising Mark; others may be due to assimilation of text; others demand still other explanations. Some of these agreements can hardly be explained otherwise than as evidence of Mark's use of Q—especially in passages forming 'doublets,' i.e. the second use of the same material in one Gospel.

(5) A further step is to isolate and examine these 'doublets,' noting (and underlining) words and phrases, order of words, and turns of thought and expression that suggest the influence of oral or documentary source materials not contemplated by the 'two-document hypothesis' in its ordinary form. These doublets are found where Matthew and Luke have incorporated material from Mark or from Q which later appears in almost identical form when they are copying the other document—for example, the well-known sayings on divorce and adultery, which are found in Mark x. 11 || Matthew xix. 9; Matthew v. 32 || Luke xvi. 18; one passage being obviously Marcan, the other obviously 'Q,' according to the general two-document hypothesis. Now, either the sayings are variants handed down separately in Mark and Q, both being drawn from oral tradition; or, as the identities of language suggest—and they are identities in Greek, not Aramaic—the version in Mark is dependent upon Q. The latter is no doubt the simpler hypothesis, and the one which is steadily gaining ground at the present day. In other words, Mark knew and presupposed Q, and from time to time supplies evidence of this, quoting a number of sayings which presuppose an acquaintance on his own and his readers' part with that document. I shall examine these passages in more detail later.

(6) It will be evident by this time that there is still a fairly large mass of material in both Luke and Matthew, but chiefly in Luke, not assigned either to Mark or to Q. It is possible to maintain, with some authorities, that Q was much more extensive than the sum total of passages which Matthew and Luke *agree* in selecting from that document. Professor Bernhard Weiss' reconstruction of Q, e.g., goes far beyond the limits of this sum total of parallel passages,⁸

⁸ *Die Quellen der synoptischen Ueberlieferung*, Leipzig, 1908; see also his *Quellen des Lukasevangeliums*, Berlin, 1907.

contrasting markedly with Professor Harnack's severely restrained reconstruction.⁹ Indeed, it seems impossible to deny that some passages, particularly when found inclosed within blocks of Q-material, and closely resembling the adjacent material in both style and thought, belonged originally to that document. It is easier to explain their *omission* by one Gospel (either Matthew or Luke) than their *insertion* at this point by the other. Further evidence was, of course, afforded by the Matthean-Lucan 'contacts' in Marcan passages: B. Weiss even went so far as to suppose that whole narratives, found in Q, underlay the Marcan version. In Weiss' view, Q was not so much a collection of the sayings of Jesus as an embryonic but fairly well developed *gospel*. Another form of the hypothesis is that of Professor Bacon, who uses 'Q' to indicate the mechanically established parallels in Matthew and Luke, outside Mark, but prefers another symbol, 'S,' for the source from which these passages were derived—the latter a much more elaborate document.¹⁰ Finally, we should note that still others, like Professor Burkitt, prefer not to think of Q as a document at all, but merely as a convenient designation for a whole mass of stereotyped oral, or perhaps written—or perhaps partly written and partly oral—sayings and narratives upon which Matthew and Luke drew in addition to their use of Mark.¹¹

On the other hand, Professor Easton, following the lead of Bernhard Weiss, and with him Canon Streeter and others, finds in the additional or 'peculiar' material of Luke sufficient indications of unity and homogeneity in outlook, in subject matter, in method of treatment, and even in style, to warrant the differentiation of still another document,

⁹ *The Sayings of Jesus* (Eng. tr., 1908). Another work in this field that deserves more attention than it has received is Castor's *Matthew's Sayings of Jesus*, Chicago, 1918.

¹⁰ See, for example, his recent *Jesus the Son of God*, and *Studies in Matthew*, 1930.

¹¹ For example, see his *Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus*, pp. 123ff.

which they designate as 'L' (for obvious reasons).¹² Weiss and Easton even go so far as to attempt to establish a special vocabulary—at least a test-vocabulary—as a criterion or touchstone for indicating the presence of this source. An obvious difficulty in the way of establishing this vocabulary is the question of the original source of Luke's Nativity and Infancy Narrative (chh. i-ii). If it belonged to L, it certainly must provide a large part of the hypothetical 'vocabulary'—since it contains, excluding the Prologue to the Gospel, a total of one hundred and twenty-eight verses. But the provenance of Luke i-ii is still under discussion; Easton assigns it to L, while Streeter sets it at one side as of uncertain origin.¹³ In a book on the Virgin Birth, published some years ago, Dr. Vincent Taylor advanced the theory that Luke i. 34f. (the reference to the Virgin Birth) was added to the Gospel at a late stage in its composition, in fact on the very eve of its 'publication,' and in the final draft.¹⁴ The hypothesis is now supplanted by the theory of 'Proto-Luke,' which began, according to Streeter and Taylor, with Luke iii. i.¹⁵

However, Easton's 'vocabulary' is not entirely vitiated by this uncertainty of the source of Luke's Nativity Narrative, since it may be checked with the one given by Sir John Hawkins, who lists the usage of Luke i-ii in a separate column.¹⁶

¹² Easton, *Commentary on St. Luke*, Introduction; Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, Part II. Perry's study of the Passion Narrative of Luke, *The Sources of Luke's Passion Narrative*, 1920, contributed toward the identification of 'L,' though he did not himself reach this position.

¹³ Though inclining to agree with Torrey that it rests on a Hebrew original—in any event a written document; *The Four Gospels*, pp. 266ff.

¹⁴ *The Historical Evidence for the Virgin Birth*, Oxford, 1920. The main difficulty with this earlier hypothesis is that vv. 36f. do not continue the thought of vs. 33 without interruption, but presuppose vv. 34f.

¹⁵ *Behind the Third Gospel* (1926), pp. 164ff.

¹⁶ Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ* (2d ed.), pp. 15-25. Attention ought also to be paid to the style and diction in purely editorial passages—introductions, transitions, conclusions—which are fairly isolable. See my 'Editorial Style in the Synoptic Gospels,' *Anglican Theological Review* i (1918), pp. 278-287; iii. 51-58.

The striking agreement of the diction and style of Luke i-ii with that of 'L,' evidenced by a comparison of Hawkins' and Easton's tables, may be interpreted in one of at least two different ways. Either Luke i-ii belonged to 'L'—which must then have been a 'Gospel' rather than a sayings document, particularly if it included Luke's peculiar matter in the Passion Narrative—and its place in 'L' is Easton's *Q.E.D.*; or, in agreement with Easton's contention that many of the peculiar beauties of Luke's Gospel in reality belong to L,¹⁷ these characteristic words and phrases are no more than the marks of Luke's own authorship of the whole (including the 'editorial' revision of material taken over by him from Mark, Q, and other sources). A third possibility is that the Lucan Infancy Narrative, and likewise the Lucan Passion and Resurrection Narratives, formed no part of the document L, but were cognate or related sources—perhaps handed down in the same circle or locality as that which provided the material in L. The document L, then, was not a primitive Gospel, complete with Birth and Passion Narratives (in one respect it would thus be more complete than Mark), but was mainly a 'sayings' document like Q, and was probably compiled for a similar purpose. It may be said, of course, that in the end we shall have to abandon the precise form in which Weiss, Easton, Streeter, and Taylor have reconstructed L, and fall back upon the hypothesis that this was no more than a somewhat loose, yet fairly homogeneous, collection of material which Luke gathered from various sources (the main source probably being found in Cæsarea?), wrote down himself, or rewrote (if already in stereotyped oral, or written, form), made constant use of in composing Proto-Luke (= Q + L), and retained in his full and final draft of the Gospel which bears his name. But this is saying no more than that if 'L' was not a document,

¹⁷ Commentary, p. xxviii.

it was the next thing to one; all it lacked was a compiler to write down the material a little in advance of St. Luke! I for one feel very sure that it was a document.

At any rate, the close student of the Gospels must reckon with the possibility of such a document or fairly homogeneous body of traditions; he will readily grant, after going over the text as carefully as we have suggested, that the area within which it is to be sought is a strictly delimited one (viz. Luke's 'peculiar' material), and that it is no merely 'subjective' theory, sprung from idle fancy or the love of multiplying sources; and he will be the first to admit the unusual difficulty attending its recovery—we have no parallels in another Gospel to check and control its precise extent and original form.

(7) The same, more or less, is to be said of Streeter's hypothesis of the existence of a fourth document, which he labels 'M' from its presence amid the peculiar matter of Matthew.¹⁸ That is, we must reckon with the possibility. It is too soon to say whether or not its existence can be established—which is not surprising: L has been under investigation for a generation and more; Streeter's discovery was announced in 1924. Canon Streeter has not, so far as I know, made any attempt to reconstruct the document; and it may, after all, turn out that 'M' is no more than an algebraic symbol for the peculiar flavor and tendency, or 'interests,' of the author of Matthew, who, like Luke, was not limited to the two main documents now generally recognized but made use of everything that came to his hands, suited his purpose, and satisfied his tests of authenticity. These 'tests,' of course, varied, as between the two authors concerned, Luke and the author of 'Matthew.'

The suggestion deserves careful study; and the student will now have, by a process of elimination, the materials

¹⁸ *The Four Gospels*, ch. ix.

before him¹⁹ for a thorough examination and perhaps a more satisfactory judgment—viz. *his own!*

(8) Finally, it will be asked, what have we left?—after the more or less mechanical isolation of 'Q,' the somewhat hypothetical identification of 'L,' and the still more hypothetical isolation of 'M'? The answer is clear: We have the 'editorial' additions, revisions, and introductions to their source material, the transitions or 'sutures' made by Matthew and Luke in connecting up their paragraphs and working them into a well-knit whole; and the small residuum of possibly oral or 'floating' written traditions which they have derived from the 'eyewitnesses and ministers of the word' to whom, in the last analysis, our evangelic material is to be referred.²⁰ The resulting conception is not that of two, three, or four sources only, but of many, combining no doubt in course of time into two, three, four, or more—viz. Q, Mark, L, M (?), Luke, Matthew—but ultimately going back, for the most part, to the original 'eyewitnesses,' and handed down by the many 'ministers of the word' in the first two Christian generations until they grew ultimately into the great 'blocks' of tradition worked into the two later Synoptic Gospels—and into such parts of the Fourth Gospel as may perhaps be referred back to earlier historical sources.²¹ Instead of a 'Four Document Hypothesis,' then, what is really required is one that may be called a 'multiple source'

¹⁹ The final step is to transfer all this to a copy of Nestle or Westcott-Hort or Souter (preferably in a wide-margin edition with room for notes) in consecutive form, so that the student may see how the writers of the Gospels used their material as they went along. So important is all this more or less mechanical labor that one may even hazard the apparently uncharitable judgment that until a student has gone through with it his opinions on fine literary questions in the Gospels are not likely to be of the slightest value.

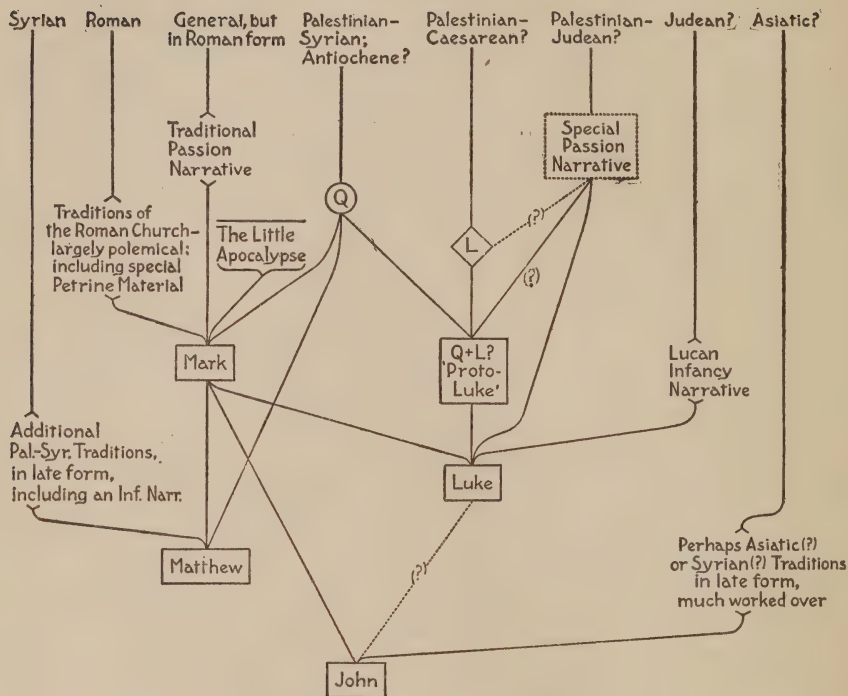
²⁰ This is the point at which 'Form-history' begins, with the distinction between editorial 'frames' and the sayings or narratives they inclose.

²¹ Such as Professor Bauer lists in his Commentary on John in the *Handbuch zum N. T.*, new ed., 1925, p. 241. Professor Jülicher still believes, on the other hand, that on no point is our knowledge of the life of Jesus increased by the Gospel of John (E. T., p. 419; new ed., p. 411).

theory: the basic documents are more than four in number²²—how many we cannot say with certainty, though the *main* sources of Matthew and Luke are at least three. If the Gospels or their sources had been the work of but one or two men, or even of four, we should doubtless have far more consistency of narrative, far greater unity of impression; but we should miss ‘the many-splendored thing,’ the variety and vitality, the freshness and charm of this manifold human testimony to the great deeds and events, the sayings and teachings which they record.

²² As Streeter himself admits; p. 266.

STRANDS OF TRADITION AND SOURCES



A MULTIPLE SOURCE THEORY OF GOSPEL ORIGINS

In addition to the main sources noted above, there were also no doubt many oral traditions still in circulation in the period (60-125 A. D.) when the Gospels were written—and even later, as Papias shows (Eusebius, H. E., iii. 39. 4). Some of them undoubtedly existed in 'blocks' or small collections, and in fairly fixed form.

IV

THE GOSPEL BEFORE THE GOSPELS

IN an earlier chapter the attempt has been made to outline the motives that led to the writing of the Gospels. Both the delay in their appearance and the form taken when they finally appeared are to be explained by the conditions, external and internal, of the early Christian movement. Now it must not be supposed that these conditions, or motives, came into existence all at once at a particular time and universally throughout the church. Some of the motives—e.g. the apocalyptic—were in operation a long time before the Gospels were written. If this is so, then it follows without doubt that the tendencies or interests which determined the selection and affected the formulation of the material in the Gospels affected also in some degree the selection and formulation of the tradition in its earlier oral form and in the earliest stages of writing, i.e. the compilation of the documents upon which the Gospels are based. This is one of the major presuppositions of *Formgeschichte*, and with it no historical student will be inclined to quarrel.¹ The materials themselves bear too patently the marks of purposeful selection and formulation. Obviously, many other things Jesus

¹The best book on *Formgeschichte* in English is *The Gospel before the Gospels* (1928), by Professor Burton Scott Easton; see also ch. ii in his *Christ in the Gospels* (1930), on 'The Pre-Synoptic Tradition.' Professor S. J. Case's *Jesus, A New Biography* (1927) exemplifies the application of its principles to the historical problems of the life of our Lord: cf. esp. ch. ii. Case combines this method with his own 'social-historical' method; moreover it should be noted that Case's view of the Messianic consciousness of Jesus is not a necessary consequence of either method. Professor D. W. Riddle's *The Martyrs* (1931) contains a brief and clear account of *Formgeschichte* (pp. 207ff.). See also Bultmann's art. in *Jour. Rel.*, 1926, pp. 337-362: 'The New Approach to the Synoptic Problem.'

both said and did 'which are not written, . . . but these are written, that ye may believe' (John xx. 30f.).

The other major assumption of 'Form-history,' the one, in fact, which gives the school its name, is not quite so self-evident. It is assumed that general laws prevail in the formation and development of a tradition, and that it is possible by classifying the types of material thus handed down to arrange them more or less in evolutionary sequence. Thus in the Gospels short, pithy sayings of Jesus came before the long and involved allegories, exhortations, or expositions of the Law.² Such a saying as 'In the measure that ye mete, it shall be measured to you again,' or 'He that hath ears to hear, let him hear,' takes precedence of the Parable of the Sower, the controversy over collusion with Beelzebub, or the exposition of Jesus' teaching on Oaths, Adultery, or Non-resistance. There is undoubtedly some truth in this principle, and it is capable of a general application. But it is not nearly so certain that we can apply it in every case. Nor is it a sure inference from this general principle that the more thoroughly elaborated or extended units in the tradition must necessarily, one and all, have been developed out of such brief sayings. Nothing seems more unlikely than that the original *nuclei* of the gospel tradition were brief, proverb-like, sententious sayings of the kind we read in Pirke Aboth, for example, or in the Wisdom Literature. After all, Jesus was a prophet, not a 'wise man' or scribe;³ and extended discourse rather than epigram or proverb was characteristic of the Hebrew prophet. Furthermore, the Gospels are full of parables, many of them unique, most of them characteristic, which undeniably for the most part go back to Jesus himself; the contrast afforded by those few which the tradition itself

² Though not all students of Form-history agree upon this principle: cf. Bultmann, *Gesch. Syn. Trad.*,² p. 64; Easton, *The Gospel Before the Gospels*, pp. 78ff.

³ As Bultmann suggests (p. 52), Jesus came to be regarded less in prophetic-apocalyptic rôle, and more in that of the rabbi.

provided (the Wicked Husbandmen in Mark, for example, or the Last Judgment in Matthew⁴) is clear and definite, and in some cases painfully so. The Parables are obviously as authentic as anything we have in the Gospels—the sayings are no whit ‘earlier’ or more authentic. Nevertheless, *Formgeschichte* has done this great service at least, it has made it evident that the gospel tradition is ultimately resolvable into separate units of discourse, saying, narrative, or the like.⁵

Valuable as this principle of analysis is, then, it is difficult to follow it all the way, i.e. to a hypothetical reconstruction of the ‘evolution’ of the tradition. But we need not rest here with the conclusion that nothing further can be done in tracing back the development of the Gospels. For instead of breaking up the Gospels at once into their primary oral components, and then attempting to reconstruct out of them the development of the tradition, a better method is surely to work backward from the finished Gospels to their underlying written sources, and then on this basis to construct a hypothesis of the oral traditions that preceded them.⁶ It is much the same method that archæologists follow. If an ancient town wall or house is to be removed in the course of excavation, the structure is first laid bare, exactly measured and recorded, so accurately in fact that the wall may be removed ten thousand miles and reërected in a museum. Only after these careful studies of the actual structure have been made is the wall razed, the ground cleared, and the research carried on to the preceding historical stage. The process thus goes slowly backward, inch

⁴ Mark xii. 1-12; Mt. xxv. 31-46.

⁵ “Form study brings us into contact with the earliest Christian pedagogy, and so should prove a fruitful field of study, particularly in the light it will throw on the early Palestinian Christian interests. This is reason enough to give the new discipline our full attention.” Nevertheless, “Form-criticism may prepare the way for historical criticism, but form-criticism is not historical criticism.” Easton, pp. 77, 81.

⁶ Bultmann’s method; cf. his criticism of Dibelius, pp. 4-6.

by inch, from stage VII to stage VI, from VI to V, and so on, down possibly to Sub-I or Sub-II. Everyone recognizes that it would be fatal to begin by removing the entire site at once, and then attempt to reconstruct 'genetically' the whole process of development. In the study of the evangelic tradition the only proper method is to begin by reconstructing as far as possible the immediate sources out of which the Gospels are built. This also is a kind of 'Form-history,' though it is not the method which has been most prominent in works of that school, nor is it in any sense peculiar to any one school. Rather, the method grows out of the efforts at source-analysis of the Gospels which have been characteristic of modern gospel study generally. Indeed, it was suggested as long ago as 1910 in a little book entitled *The Growth of the Gospels*, by Sir Flinders Petrie, representing a brief and—it must be confessed—not altogether fruitful excursion of that veteran Egyptologist into the field of New Testament criticism. In it he outlined, on the basis of the then-common analysis of the Gospels into 'Double Tradition' and 'Triple Tradition' (roughly equivalent to the elements derived from Q and Mark respectively), a method of study of 'blocks' of tradition, the little groups and sequences of narratives, sayings, or Parables, embedded *en bloc* in the Gospels.

These 'blocks' are apparent enough in Q and L, in the Passion Narrative of Mark, in Luke's Infancy Narrative, and elsewhere—certainly in the long consecutive sections taken over from Mark by Luke, and even by Matthew. But even within Q and L, as I shall show, and certainly within Mark, as I shall also endeavor to make clear, there are structural blocks which can only represent sequences or groupings that obtained in the oral tradition prior to the writing down of these sources, and that no doubt greatly assisted their writers in the arrangement of material. It is astonishing how 'struc-

tural' is the arrangement of these sources; far from being heterogeneous collections of material, Q and L show a real grouping of their contents—not an exhaustive grouping, and not motivated by what can justly be called either a historical or an artistic principle, but none the less a real subject-grouping, apparent here and there in the documents. This subject-grouping is most fully developed, of course, in the later Gospels of Matthew and John; but it is very evident also in Mark, and is to be seen even in Q and L (and also, consequently, in Luke).

Now it may naturally be suspected that the student has himself supplied the grouping; and reads-in his own conception of what ought to be the order of the sources. In reply it can only be said that the right method is to follow the rules as strictly as possible in reconstructing their form and order, and then, only then, to examine them for the evidence they themselves afford of their inner structure. For example, I have been interested in the study of the Synoptic Gospels for more than twenty years—more interested in them than in any other subject of literary or historical study. And I suppose it is no less true of myself than of any other New Testament student that after a time certain basic principles of our common research begin to stand out with elemental clarity and certainty. Nevertheless, I entirely mistrust my own sense of what Q or L, let us say, *ought* to contain. Left to my own devices, I should certainly be inclined to agree with Canon Streeter, and include an account of our Lord's baptism in Q—not that Streeter has reached this conclusion by any such method. But it is not a question of what any one thinks Q should have contained, but solely of the evidence. And the evidence, except for two minor contacts between Matthew and Luke (the verb for the rending of the heavens, and the obvious *ἐν* in place of Mark's *εἰς* in verse 10), is all in favor of the Marcan origi-

nal—to which Professor Easton assigns the narrative.⁷ Reluctantly, therefore, I should be forced to omit the Baptism from my reconstruction of Q. But I have no such feeling of reluctance; for the first thing to inquire is the literary data—and hypotheses are still ‘not to be multiplied unnecessarily.’

In the following reconstruction of Q and L, I have followed Luke not only in order but also in wording (where questions of wording arise to require a choice). It is gen-

⁷ The problem of the source of the Baptismal Narrative is one of the most delicate in the Gospels, and the evidence is so fine that it must be weighed in the apothecary's balances. (1) Antecedently, one would expect an account of Jesus' baptism and call to precede the Temptation Narrative in Q—where the assumption is uniformly made that he thinks of himself as the Son of God. Moreover (2), something of the sort is required to make sense of the opening sections of Proto-Luke. Apart from the Genealogy (which may not be from L), whose curious conclusion (Lk. iii. 38) seems to imply Jesus' sonship as asserted in iii. 22, the opening verse of ch. iv requires not only a visit of Jesus to the Jordan, where John has been preaching and baptizing, but also the coming of the Spirit, recounted in the Baptismal Narrative. The same is true of iv. 14. Furthermore (3), as a Jewish writing, containing the words of ‘a prophet mighty in word and deed,’ Q (or L, for that matter) could not dispense with an account of Jesus' Call. The same would be true *a fortiori* of a record of the words and deeds of the Messiah.

On the other hand, if a choice must be made between Luke and Mark as to originality of narrative, Mark's account (i. 10–11) is greatly to be preferred. It is straightforward, simple, and clear. Luke's account is obviously rewritten—it is loaded with participles and infinitives (compare the style of iii. 1–2). Moreover, Mark's εἶδεν, retained by Matthew, looks more original than Luke's εἶδε; so that if the narrative stood in Q, Mark's wording is probably closer to the original than Luke's! In other words, if Q underlies Luke iii. 21f., it cannot be recovered from the Lucan narrative as it stands—which would be a phenomenon almost unique in this Gospel. It may be so. And if so, i.e. if Luke's combination of the Marcan narrative (which was, accordingly, based on Q—so Easton, *Christ in the Gospels*, p. 21) with his own earlier (Q plus L) narrative has so greatly disturbed the original reading, we are not very likely to recover it now from Luke. What stood originally at this point in Luke (i.e. in Proto-Luke) we can only guess: perhaps some account of Jesus' participation in John's activity, together with the narrative of his Call—recounted possibly, as Taylor thinks, in the words of the old Western variant based on the Psalm, ‘This day have I begotten thee.’ That is, omitting the participle derived from Mark, βαπτισθέντος (which is incidental and circumstantial in the Lucan narrative, in any event; cf. Mark and Matthew), it read somewhat as follows: ‘It came to pass, while all the people were being baptized, that Jesus was praying; and the heavens were opened, and the Holy Spirit descended upon him, and a voice came from heaven, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee.’ Thus no account was given (in Proto-Luke, Q, or L) of Jesus' baptism, any more than of John's own at the beginning of his ministry. The Baptismal Narrative is, accordingly, derived from Mark, with only a bare possibility that Mark drew it from Q.

erally recognized that the Lucan order of Q is preferable to that of Matthew, since Luke is not possessed with the systematizing enthusiasm of Matthew. It is not so generally recognized that Luke's wording is to be preferred—the usual formula runs, 'Prefer Luke for the order, prefer Matthew for the wording, of Q.' But the conviction has grown upon me, as I have studied the use Matthew and Luke made of Mark, that Luke as a rule (to which there are, of course, certain obvious exceptions) exercises far greater care in following the exact wording of his source in relating *the words of our Lord*. This is not true of their setting, which he often enough rewrites. But the sayings of Jesus he alters far less, to say the least, than he does the narrative.⁸ Matthew, on the other hand, does not scruple to introduce later exegesis into the very formulation of Jesus' words. I prefer, therefore, to follow Luke's wording of Q wherever possible. As for L, it seems to me not unlikely that Luke has dealt as faithfully with the order and wording of this document as he has with Mark and Q—certainly in transcribing the words of Jesus. It is therefore not mere lack of an additional 'control' or 'check' upon L (since Luke alone makes use of this source) that leads us to have confidence in its present order. Where Matthew goes out of his way to regroup his material by subject, Luke takes special pains to retain it as it stands and to provide suitable topographical or other setting for the separate units. This was the more possible in that Mark and Q, and even L, have a grouping of material that is now and then strikingly similar; have even common subject-headings, one might almost say; and this is a phenomenon no one could possibly have anticipated in advance of the actual reconstruction of the latter documents. It would seem then that here also we have an indication of the state of the material prior to the writing of the sources.

⁸ Q and L, of course, are made up almost exclusively of sayings and parables.

The subject-groupings, as well as the contents of the 'blocks,' suggest a common use made of the material by the church's 'teachers' and 'evangelists' in the first generation. These were groupings that Mark was no doubt familiar with long before he put pen to paper—especially if he had known and used, and therefore remembered at least in a general way, the material contained in Q. And I should not be greatly surprised if the grouping antedated Q. It is significant that some groups—the Baptist's preaching, the controversy with the scribes over Jesus' works of healing, the admonitions to the disciples, the warnings drawn from the impending fate of Jerusalem, for example—reappear in L as well as in Q and Mark. Nothing should surprise us less than that these early documents overlapped here and there. One can almost hear the 'teachers' of the early church at their task, as he turns over these brief but infinitely precious pages of their 'manuals' for the instruction of converts!

NOTE A

THE CONTENTS AND STRUCTURE OF Q

With notes on other passages that have sometimes been assigned to it.

Lk. iii. 2-9 John's preaching of repentance.

[Vv. 2-4 have been rewritten in Marcan style, and vv. 5-6 have been added by Luke.] The section originally ran perhaps as follows: *καὶ ἐγένετο ῥῆμα θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωαν. τὸν Ζαχ. υἱὸν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν περίχωρον τοῦ Ἰορδ. κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας ὡς γέγραπται ἐν Ἠσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου: φωνή κτλ. . . .*

Some such wording accounts not only for the present form of Luke, and for the Matthean contacts, but also for the obviously dependent form of the narrative in Mark.

[iii. 10-14 = L.]

iii. 16-17 John's prediction of the Messiah.

καὶ πρὶ κτλ. . . . proves this to have been in Q, and proves also Mark's dependence upon Q for the first part of the saying.

[iii. 21-22 = Mk.]

iv. 1b-12 The Temptation.

'Full of the Holy Spirit [he] returned from the Jordan' in 1a is editorial (i.e. due to Luke), as is 13. Vv. 1b-2 are required in Q to account for the Matthean and Marcan parallels.

[iv. 14-15 is editorial, based on Mark.]

vi. 20-49 The Sermon.

vii. 1-10 The centurion's faith. [Vv. 3-6a may have been added by Luke.]

vii. 18b-35 John's emissaries; John and the coming Messiah.

[Vv. 18a, 20-21, 29-30 are clearly editorial; 20 is repeated—a stylistic feature in Luke (cf. xv. 18 and 21). 18a, 21, 29-30 are explanatory.]

[ix. 51-56 is certainly not Q; it is probably L (so Easton).]

ix. 57-60 Various followers.

[57a is editorial.]

ix. 61-62 Another follower.

(This obviously belongs with 57-60, as part of a block of sayings on potential disciples.)

x. 2-16 The Mission of the Disciples.

x. 17-20 The return of the Seventy (originally, of the Twelve); and an apocalyptic experience.

(17a = editorial?)

x. 21-24 Jesus' rejoicing.

[21a is editorial.] This whole section, vv. 2-24, is too closely knit to be composite.

xi. 2-4 The Lord's Prayer.

xi. 5-8 The friend at midnight—though it may not have followed the Lord's Prayer, originally, it nevertheless fits so well the *following* section that it probably belonged here in Q.

xi. 9-13 Constancy in prayer.

xi. 14-22 The charge of collusion with Beelzebub, and Beelzebub the strong man—a passage upon which Mk. iii. 22-27 is certainly dependent, as the contacts show. It is to be noted that there are no contacts between Marcan passages and L, but a number between Mark and Q.

xi. 23-26 The unclean spirit.

[Vv. 27-28 do not fit the context here, but do fit the context in which they are found if attributed to L. Therefore they probably belong to L.]

xi. 29-32 'The sign of Jonah.'

xi. 33-36 Light. (Vs. 35 may be a gloss, as the Western text suggests.)

xi. 37-52 Controversy with the scribes and Pharisees.

(Vv. 37-39a, 45, 53-54 are editorial.)

xii. 1b-12 Testimony of the disciples amid adversaries.

[Vs. 1a is editorial. Though 12 has Luke's characteristic emphasis upon the Holy Spirit, the actual words, τὸ πνεῦμα, occur in the Matthean parallel.]

[xii. 13-15 On dividing an inheritance. —If not from Q, it certainly appropriately introduces the Parable of the Rich Fool which follows, vv. 16-21. In fact, the following section, 22b-31, which continues the teaching of care-free and fearless confession of discipleship (cf. vv. 28b-29 with vv. 6-7), is required in order to give the proper setting of the parable in vv. 16-21. Thus 22ff. presuppose 16-21, which in turn presuppose 13-15; the whole sequence is accordingly from Q—though it cannot be said that 13-15 are as definitely required here as are 16-21. Matthew has omitted both

the incident and the parable, as the words seem to represent our Lord as refusing to exercise his authority in deciding a legal case; this was too non-rabbinic an attitude for Matthew to understand. However, if vv. 2-12, 22b-40 represent a real sequence of thought in Q, it is easy to view 13-21 as an interruption, due possibly to the insertion of matter from L or elsewhere. Hence we should probably agree with Taylor in assigning 13-21 to L.]

xii. 22-31 On freedom from care.

xii. 32-34 On treasure.

The difficulty here is to account for the omission of vv. 32-33a from the Matthean parallel. However (1), vs. 33a certainly introduces 33b-34, which is undoubtedly Q; (2) vs. 32 forms an admirable climax to 29-31, exactly in the tone and tenor of the context; (3) while a reason for Matthew's omission of the verse may be seen either in its apparent relaxation of the demands of the Law, or, more probably, in its non-eschatological conception of the Kingdom, which Matthew could not appreciate.

On the other hand, the transition from 'seeking' the Kingdom in vs. 31 to receiving it as a gift in vs. 32, and from 'purses' in 33a to 'treasure in the heavens' in 33b, suggests that 32-33a forms an insert from L; and I so incline to view it, at present.

xii. 35-40 On watchfulness.—There are really two parables here, while vv. 42-46 supply a third, all on this general theme (vs. 41 is editorial).

xii. 47-48 may either be a moralizing conclusion to the parable, drawn from reflections upon the Parable of the Talents, or may continue the parable as it stood originally in Q.

xii. 49-53 Messianic divisions.

xii. 54-56 Signs of the times.

xii. 57-59 The duty of speedy reconciliation.

A group of short sayings whose Matthean contacts indicate their presence in Q.

xiii. 18-21 Mustard seed and leaven.

The Matthean and Marcan parallels sufficiently indicate that this section was found in Q.

xiii. 22-30 The narrow way.

(Vv. 22-23 are editorial; vs. 30 is used in Mk. x. 31.)

[xiii. 31-33 'That fox'—seems to come from another source than Q—but hardly from L: see note below on 'Contents of L.' However, 33b leads up to 34f., which are from Q.]

xiii. 34-35 The fate of Jerusalem.

[Vv. 5 The boy in a pit.—This verse has contacts with Matthew, but may be conformed to xiii. 15.]

xiv. 11 'He that exalteth himself.'

xiv. 15-24 Parable of the Great Supper.

xiv. 26-27 'Hating' one's next of kin, and 'bearing the cross.'

xiv. 34-35 Salt (used also by Mark).

xvi. 13 Serving two masters.

xvi. 16-18 The Law and the Prophets until John; Divorce.

xvii. 1-2 Offenses (used also by Mark).

xvii. 3-4 Forgiveness.

xvii. 5-6 Faith.

xvii. 22-37 The Parousia.

[Vv. 20-21 may be from Q; they reflect a point of view similar to xii. 32, and Matthew may have omitted them for a similar reason to that which controlled him there. However, the sharp editorial turn in 22, 'But he said to his disciples,' would be better explained if only 22b and following came from Q, which apparently was Luke's chief 'disciples' source.' Vs. 25 is editorial, and obviously interrupts the continuity of thought. Matthew omits 28-30 and 34; he abbreviates 31-33.]

viates by taking the other member of the parallelism. The verses obviously belonged in Q.]

xviii. 14b 'He that exalteth himself.'

This is certainly a Q-verse, though whether it belongs here or at xiv. 11 may be debated. We have here another example of textual pre-history; no surviving MSS represent the type of text current prior to the interpolation at one or the other of these points.

xix. 12-13, 15b-26 The Parable of the Talents.

Vs. 11 is obviously editorial; while 14 and 27 show an attempt at rewriting the parable which can scarcely have been found in Q (and may even be later than Luke?). For if these two vv. had been a part of Q, it is impossible that Matthew should have omitted them—they fit all too well his conception of the Fall of Jerusalem and the venting of the Roman fury as the punishment of Judaism for the rejection of the Messianic king.

[xx. 18 is not from Q. The Matthean parallel is due to textual conformation and is omitted by D 33 a b e ff r SyrS etc.]

[xxi. 34-36 cannot come from Q—Matthew would never have omitted it! Nor is it in harmony with the general outlook of L.]

[xxii. 30b is not from Q: see J. Weiss and Easton.]

I assume then that Q contained the following sections, and that if so they formed the 'blocks' or groups indicated:

Lk. iii. 2b, 3a, 4, 7-9 John's preaching of repentance.	}	Opening narratives: 'the beginning of the gospel' (John Baptist).
iii. 16-17 John's prediction of the Messiah.		
iv. 1b-12 The Temptation.	}	The ordeal of the Messiah.

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| vi. 20-49 | The Sermon. | } A general example
of Jesus' teaching. |
| vii. 1-2, 6b-10 | The centurion's faith. | |
| vii. 18b, 19, 22-28, 31-35 | John's emissaries;
John and the coming Messiah. | |
| ix. 57b-60
61-62 | } Various followers. | } A little block by
itself: Disciple-
ship. |
| x. 2-16 | | |
| x. 17b-20 | The return of the Twelve. | } The mission of the
Twelve. |
| x. 21b-24 | Jesus' rejoicing. | |
| xi. 2-4 | The Lord's Prayer. | } Prayer. |
| xi. 5-8 | The friend at midnight. | |
| xi. 9-13 | Constancy in prayer. | |
| xi. 14-22 | The charge of collusion with Beel-
zebub. | } Controversy. |
| xi. 23-26 | The unclean spirit. | |
| xi. 29-32 | 'The sign of Jonah.' | |
| xi. 33-36 | Light. | |
| xi. 39b-44, 46-52 | Controversy with the
scribes and Pharisees. | |
| xii. 1b-12 | Testimony of the disciples amid
adversaries. | } Discipleship — i.e.
the duties of
Jesus' disciples in
persecution (and
controversy). |
| xii. 22-31 | On freedom from care. | |
| xii. 33b-34 | On treasure. | |
| xii. 35-40
xii. 42-46 | } Three parables on watchfulness. | |
| xii. 47-48 | | |
| xii. 49-53 | Messianic divisions. | |
| xii. 54-56 | Signs of the times. | |
| xii. 57-59 | Duty of speedy reconciliation. | |
| xiii. 18-21 | Parables of mustard seed and
leaven. | |
| xiii. 24-30 | The narrow way. | |
| xiii. 34-35 | The fate of Jerusalem. | |
| xiv. 11 | 'He that exalteth himself' [=xviii.
14]. | } " " " " "
(= summary of
the duties of dis-
cipleship). |
| xiv. 15-24 | Parable of the Great Supper. | |
| xiv. 26-27 | 'Hating' one's next of kin and
'bearing the cross.' | |
| xiv. 34-35 | Salt. | |
| xvi. 13 | Serving two masters. | |

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|--|---|
| xvi. 16-18 Law and Prophets until John; | } The Law(?). |
| Divorce. | |
| xvii. 1-2 Offenses. | |
| xvii. 3-4 Forgiveness. | } The Parousia
(climax of the collection). |
| xvii. 5-6 Faith. | |
| xvii. 22-37 The Parousia. | |
| xix. 12-13, 15b-26 Parable of the Talents. | |

A total of 262 verses and parts of verses, counting xviii. 14=
xiv. 11 but once.

It is to be observed that the main, central section of Q, and the bulk of the document as a whole, have to do with *Discipleship*, i.e. the duties and responsibilities of Jesus' disciples. This is exactly what we should expect it to contain, if it was the kind of document and was compiled for the purpose that we assume. It was a guide to catechists, a manual for the newly converted, a statement of the Christian way of life—a handbook of 'the Way'!

Following the Sermon, which was an illustration of Jesus' general teaching, and the centurion's faith, an example of his healing activity, and the account of John's emissaries, the series of sections on discipleship begins: various followers and would-be followers, the Mission of the Twelve, (Prayer,) the duty of Jesus' disciples in the midst of controversy and persecution. The presence in it of the account of Jesus' controversy with the scribes and Pharisees is not surprising: for this was still a 'live issue' and had a real bearing upon the conduct of the disciples in a similar situation. 'If they have called the Master of the house Beelzebul, . . . !'

NOTE B

THE CONTENTS AND STRUCTURE OF L

With notes on other passages that have sometimes been assigned to it.

[Lk. i-ii are assigned to L by Easton, *Comm. on Luke*, 1926, pp. xxiii etc.; but it seems likely that 'Proto-Luke,' which combined Q and L, began with iii. 1; if so, these two chapters probably come from still another source used by Luke.]

[iii. 1 is assigned to L by Taylor; but it looks much more like an editorial introduction, i.e. by the editor of Proto-Luke.]

iii. 10-14 The Baptist's preaching.

[iii. 18-20 is clearly editorial.]

[iii. 23-38, the Genealogy—probably from the same cycle of tradition, or a similar one to that used in chh. i-ii. Its naïve and tentative Christology ('Son of Adam, Son of God') is not that of L.]

[iv. 14-15 is certainly editorial.]

iv. 16-30 The Visit to Nazareth.

v. 1-11 The Call of Simon (originally a post-resurrection appearance?).

[v. 33-36 Fasting—is based on Mark.]

[vi. 12-16 The Apostles. The location is due to Mark, and it is doubtful if L contained such a list. The 'minor agreements' would point to Q rather than L, though they are scarcely more than the normal number found throughout Marcan sections in Luke—which are probably due to early textual assimilation and conflation. Vv. 12-13 are undoubtedly editorial, as are 17-19.]

[vi. 20-49 The Sermon—almost certainly from Q, even if, as some scholars think, Luke has modified the wording of

the Beatitudes; however, Luke's general manner of quoting the actual words of Jesus exactly, as may be seen from his use of Mark, suggests that Q is more accurately given here than in the Matthean parallel.]

[vii. 2-10 The centurion's servant—from Q.]

vii. 11-16 The widow's son at Nain (the geography of vs. 17 is Lucan; cf. i. 5, iv. 44, vi. 17).

vii. 36-50 The penitent woman.

viii. 1-3 The ministring women—this may be editorial (vs. 1 is certainly editorial); note the sequence here of three sections dealing with women.

[ix. 7-9 Herod's opinion—based on Mark, with editorial additions.]

[ix. 28-36 The Transfiguration—based on Mark.]

[ix. 43b-45 Prediction of the Passion—based on Mark; cf. xviii. 31-34.]

ix. 51-56 The Samaritan village [51-52a may be editorial]. Compare the rejection at Nazareth, ch. iv.

[ix. 61-62 A would-be follower—probably derived from Q, as are the four preceding verses; i.e. the whole section belongs to Q.]

[x. 1 The Mission of the Seventy; this vs. is certainly editorial. The discourse which it introduces is from Q; an 'L' verse would hardly introduce a 'Q' discourse!]

[x. 17-20 The return of the Seventy—more likely to belong to Q, which immediately follows in vv. 21-24, if not to some other source still. Easton omits.]

[x. 25-28 The Law and eternal life: derived from Mark.]

x. 29b-37 The Good Samaritan, perhaps suggested by ix. 52b-56, which just precedes this section in L; but it is certainly appropriate here as following vs. 27c; 29a is editorial. It is significant that vs. 36 does not simply repeat and answer the lawyer's question in vs. 29—which may possibly indicate an editorial effort to bring the parable into conformity with

the situation set up by the incorporation of vv. 25-28 from Mark. If so, its original purport in L was doubtless somewhat different, though the everlasting moral teaching of the parable has been nowise affected by the change.

x. 38-42 Mary and Martha.

[xi. 1-8 The Lord's Prayer, and the Friend at Midnight—more likely from Q; Easton omits.]

xi. 27-28 The woman's praise. Taylor assigns this to Q. It is another 'woman's' section, following x. 38-42 which immediately preceded in L.

[xi. 37-54 Woes on the Pharisees, and the breach with them; vv. 37-52 are almost certainly from Q, while 53-54 is a characteristic editorial addition to the section.]

xii. 13-21 On dividing an inheritance, and the Parable of the Rich Fool.

xii. 32-33a 'Fear not, little flock.' Taylor assigns this to Q; however, although the passage is in the tenor of the preceding section, the chief difficulty is to account for Matthew's omission of it, if it stood in his document Q. See note on the 'Contents of Q,' above.

[xii. 35-38 Watchful servants; almost certainly from Q (so Taylor).]

[xii. 49-53 Messianic divisions; from Q (so Taylor).]

xiii. 1-5 The Galilean pilgrims, and the Tower of Siloam.

[xiii. 6-9 The Parable of the Fig Tree—a fragment of a parable. It is hard to say what its original purport was, though it sounds like later ecclesiastical reflection upon the Lord's patience with the Jews. Easton omits.]

xiii. 10-17 The woman with a spirit of infirmity—another indication of original derivation (prior to L) from a 'woman's source.'

[xiii. 31-33 'That fox'—perhaps from Q, or some other source? It does not tally with L's view of Herod's attitude toward Jesus (xxiii. 8), upon which Luke has based

his editorial treatment of Mark in ix. 7-9 (especially 9b).]

xiv. 1-6 A man with dropsy. This has contacts with vi. 6-11 (from Mark); and vs. 5 is almost certainly a Q-saying; but since Luke would hardly introduce what is in effect a narrative doublet unless he were following a written source, the passage probably stood in Q or L. Taylor and Easton agree in assigning it to L. Note the parallelism with the narrative immediately preceding it in L.

xiv. 7-10 The choice of places.

xiv. 12-14 Guests—two examples of Jesus' 'table talk,' rising from a discussion of dinner etiquette to the moral and religious principles presupposed. Vs. 11 is doubtless from Q.

[xiv. 15-24 Parable of the Great Supper: from Q?]

[xiv. 26-27 The cost of discipleship—from Q? (so Taylor).]

xiv. 28-32 On counting the cost. This reflects the same practical wisdom as the Parable of the Two Builders, at the conclusion of the Sermon on the Mount, but fits ill with the requirements of the context 'frame' in which it now appears—the Q-sayings on renunciation, vv. 26-27, 33. The effect is too much that of a homiletic 'illustration'; the parable does not *grow out of* the situation, as Jesus' parables usually do. It looks, therefore, like an L insert into a Q frame.

It is noteworthy that L had material on discipleship parallel to the great block of discourse in Q on this subject.

[xv. 1-2 Reception of publicans—clearly editorial, as its form shows.]

xv. 3-32 Parables of the Recovered Sheep, Coin, and Son: quite obviously a group built about a common theme; so also in L.

xvi. 1-9 Parable of the Clever Steward.

xvi. 10-12 Faithfulness in administering earthly wealth.

[Vs. 13, God and Mammon, is from Q; it is very appropriately introduced here.]

[xvi. 14-15 The Pharisees lovers of money; perhaps appropriate here, but it is very difficult to see why they would scoff at Jesus—especially in view of vs. 9, which was good Pharisaic teaching: see Strack-Billerbeck. 'Who were lovers of money' is therefore probably an editorial addition, and not a very illuminating one.]

xvi. 19-31 Dives and Lazarus. This has been retouched editorially (esp. in vv. 27-31, which may presuppose a contradiction of the statement in vs. 26, and reflect a later Christian view of the non-conversion of the majority of Jews). In its original form it doubtless had a more telling point, and formed a climax to the group of sayings and parables in this part of L dealing with questions of stewardship, wealth, and poverty.

[xvii. 5-6 is almost certainly from Q (so Taylor). Note that this Q section is followed even by Mark in xi. 23-25.]

xvii. 7-10 Parable of the Farmer and his Man. This is an appropriate pendant to the group just noted, and is thoroughly in harmony with the best Pharisaic teaching: cf. Abot ii. 8 (Jochanan ben Zakkai).

xvii. 12-19 The ten lepers (vs. 11 is obviously editorial)—another 'Samaritan' section, like those noted above, ix. 51-56; x. 29-37.

xviii. 1-8 Parable of the Unjust Judge. [May this be Q? Easton omits it. But if Q, it is certainly strange that Matthew should omit vv. 7-8, which are definitely in his line of special interests!]

xviii. 9-14 The Pharisee and the Publican.

[xviii. 31-34 Prediction of the Passion. Cf. ix. 43b-45; based on Mark.]

xix. 1-10 Zacchæus the Publican—connects well with xviii. 9-14. [Vs. 1 may be editorial, and perhaps vs. 10.]

[xix. 11, 28. Since the Parable of the Pounds is from Q (with some additions?), and since it is unlikely that L provided the setting for a Q parable, the obvious conclusion is that these two verses are editorial additions.]

[xix. 37-40 The approach to Jerusalem. Vs. 37 is editorial, as is also at least the first half of 39; 38 is a rewriting of Mark; 40 may be derived from L or from some other source.]

xix. 41-44 The lament over Jerusalem. [Omitting 41? So both *docetæ et orthodoxi* in unrevised copies, according to Epiphanius (Ancor. xxxi. 4). The 'docetists' might omit for reason, but scarcely 'the orthodox,' unless they were using a docetic text.]

[xix 47-48 is editorial.]

[xxi. 5-9 The Coming Distress—certainly based on Mark.]

[Easton holds that xxi. 10-xxiv. 53 is "based chiefly on L, with free Marcan contributions, although xxiv. 36-49 belongs to some still different source." Taylor recognizes a 'gap' in Proto-Luke between xix. 47f. and xxii 14f. (and see the 'non-Markan' sections on p. 40 of his *First Draft*).

Of these chapters or sections, xxi. 10-33; xxii. 1-14, 18-26, 34, 39, 42, 46-47, 52-71 are Marcan, with traces of Mark in xxiii. 3, 19, 26, 32-33, 35, 38, 44-45, 47, 49, 50-xxiv. 2, and even in xxiv. 3, 5-6, 9.

To me it seems much more probable that L concluded at the point where Taylor recognizes a gap (i.e. L concluded with xix. 40, 42-44), and that the special material used by Luke in his Passion and Resurrection Narratives was derived from some cognate or closely related source, distinct, however, from L.]

[xxii. 1-13 Preparation for the Supper. This is taken from Mark, rewritten—but no more than Luke rewrites Mark elsewhere.]

[xxii. 14-38 The Supper. Vv. 15-18 are based on Mark, rewritten, and with the saying in vs. 15 added, either from some other source or as an editorial inference from what follows.

Vs. 16 is based on Mark xiv. 25a, and is made a parallel to vs. 18. *πληρωθῆ* is obviously due to Luke. The expression *οἱ ἀπόστολοι* in vs. 14 might be thought to mark the section as derived from another source (L²); but it is too definitely Lucan, i.e. editorial—'apostle' occurs in Luke six times; and each time it is used editorially, i.e. it has been added by Luke, and was not contained in the reading of his source.

Vs. 17 describes the Paschal 'cup of blessing,' and has nothing to do with the institution of the Lord's Supper. It may be affected by later liturgical practice, i.e. in 17b, the 'words of administration.'

Vs. 19a is due to Mark. This is the real account of the Institution of the Eucharist, which *was absent from L* as it was from John. Vv. 19b-20 are an interpolation.

Accordingly, L (or the cognate source¹) is limited to vs. 15, 16 being conformed to 18 (which is derived from Mark; it is inconceivable that Mark depended upon an L-section equivalent to Luke vv. 16-18!) On the other hand, as vs. 16 has been developed in conformity to 18, so 15 may be a solemn editorial introduction to the new double saying.

Vv. 21-23 are based on Mark, rewritten. Vs. 24 is editorial.

Vv. 25-26 are from Mark. Vs. 27 is editorial—a priceless jewel, but created, somewhat like certain Johannine sayings,

¹ For simplicity's sake, I suggest that we use the symbol L for the Lucan Special Document, exclusive of the Nativity and Passion Narratives; L¹ for the Lucan Nativity Narrative (chh. i-ii, exclusive of the Preface); and L² for the Lucan Passion Narrative (exclusive of material drawn from Mark). My theory is that L, L¹, and L² are either *cognate documents*, or else L¹ and L² were oral narratives (i.e. first written down by Luke himself) closely related in origin to the document L. Others maintain that 'L' = L + L¹ + L².

by inference—as $\delta \delta\iota\alpha\chi\omicron\nu\omega\tilde{\nu}$ repeated (twice!) from vs. 26 (which is Marcan) clearly shows.

Vv. 28–30 are not from Q, and probably not from L: an oral fragment?

Vv. 31–32 form another fragment, possibly derived from L (or the cognate source); note the Johannine ring of vs. 32.

Vv. 33–34 are Marcan, rewritten.

Vs. 35 is certainly due to Luke (i.e. editorial), as the order, based on x. 4, clearly shows.

Vv. 36–38 may be from L (i.e., the cognate source). Vs. 37 may ultimately rest on the Old Testament rather than on tradition, though the *fact*—viz. the resort to weapons—is inexplicable apart from tradition. However, vs. 38 may be only a literalizing of the injunction in 36, making ready for vs. 50, and therefore editorial. Note its apologetic value, to Luke: Jesus and his band were not dangerous if they had only two swords!]

[xxii. 39–53 In Gethsemane. This is a rewriting of Mark.

Vs. 40 may rest upon a separate tradition, appropriately (?) inserted here by Luke.

Vv. 43–44 are undoubtedly a later apocryphal addition, despite Streeter, *Four Gospels*, p. 137.

Vs. 49 may represent appropriate dialogue constructed out of the general situation, in good Greek fashion. 49b is obviously suggested by 38, and may not be due to tradition at all—though if 38 is authentic 49 may be, and reflects an obscure feature in the arrest of Jesus, who was *seized* (as well as condemned) on a charge of fomenting political revolution (a possibility which Eisler has not overlooked!).

Vv. 51b–52a are editorial. Vs. 53b, like 40b, may be a saying from L or elsewhere, inserted appropriately here by the editor.]

[xxii. 54–65 Peter's Denials. The section is Marcan, re-

written editorially. The Matthean-Lucan contacts, here as in other Marcan passages in Luke, are probably the result of early textual assimilation for the most part, as the late Professor Turner held—though we now have no means of tracing the process, which belongs to the ‘pre-history’ of the MS tradition.]

[xxii. 66–71 The Examination before the Priests. This section is also Marcan, rewritten, with a possibility that the reply of Jesus in vv. 67d–68 rests, like 40b and 53b, upon a variant tradition—though it looks like rationalization of Mark xiv. 60f.]

It is noteworthy that Luke omits the charges against Jesus contained in Mk. xiv. 55–61a. It *may* be that Luke is following a different source here, which contained no reference to such charges (e.g. the threat to destroy the Temple); but it is simpler to suppose that Luke omitted the passage for apologetic reasons: the charges came to nothing anyway, and threw but little light on the causes that led to Jesus’ death.]

xxiii. 1–25 The Trial before Pilate (and Herod).

Vv. 1–16 are chiefly from L² (i.e., the cognate source), with the insertion of vs. 3 from Mark, which really disturbs the representation of the older source. Although suggested by *ἐαυτὸν χρ. βασ.* at the end of vs. 2, the admission of kingship on Jesus’ part, as in vs. 3, really renders utterly inexplicable Pilate’s words in vs. 4: he could not dismiss such a charge without examination. I even suspect that vs. 3 may be an early interpolation, from Mark, which took place so early that all trace of the change has disappeared in later MS tradition. The string of *ὁ δὲ*’s in vv. 3 and 4 suggests something Luke would not have done.

Vs. 17 of the Receptus is to be omitted on textual grounds.

Vv. 18–25 are based on Mark, editorially rewritten in the light of vv. 1–16.

[xxiii. 26–49 The Crucifixion.

Vs. 26 is Marcan.

Vv. 27-28a. The women are suggested by *θυγατέρες* in 28b—as Luke would observe, who makes women prominent throughout his Gospel.

Vv. 28b-31 are either from L² or from some quasi-apocalyptic source (perhaps incorporated in L²) which contained prophecies of coming doom upon Jerusalem and the nation and which included such passages as x. 18-20; xi. 49-51 (also in Q); xiii. 32b-33; xix. 40, 42-44; xxi. 34-36.

Vv. 32-38 are Marcan, rewritten. Vs. 34a may not belong to the text; its original meaning may have been Gnostic, and not at all that which it bears popularly today. But see Streeter's discussion, *Four Gospels*, p. 138.

Vv. 39-43 may be from L (?) or perhaps a free composition—as suggested by vs. 33. Its apologetic value is obvious: vs. 41, Jesus is innocent of any crime; vs. 43, Jesus' 'kingdom' is 'in Paradise.' If a choice must be made as to its source, I incline to think it is an oral tradition Luke has picked up somewhere in the East; I do not think its conception of the Kingdom is that of L.

Vv. 44-47 are from Mark. Vs. 48 is editorial, suggested by 27-28. Vs. 49a is editorial, based on the Old Testament. 49b is from Mark.]

[xxiii. 50-56 Joseph of Arimathæa. This is based on Mark; the additions are purely editorial.]

[xxiv. 1-11 The Women at the Tomb. This is based on Mark, greatly revised; I do not think that any of the additions or revisions, however, involve an additional source—unless it be the *ἄνδρες δύο* in vs. 4, which may come from legend or oral tradition. As a whole the additions are explicable as editorial revisions of the Marcan source.

Vs. 12 does not belong in the text. Neither does 6a. On omissions of D Lat vet etc., in these sections, see Taylor, *First Draft*, p. 38n.]

xxiv. 13-35 The appearance to the two disciples at Emmaus. This is from L (or the cognate source).

xxiv. 36-49 The appearance to the Eleven, is, according to Easton, derived 'from some still different source'; though 36, 44-49 continue the narrative of 13-35 in the same tenor. Vv. 37-43 look like an insert into the narrative from some later source—note the contacts with the Gospel of John (39-43), and even with the Gospel of Peter (37). Vs. 38 is appropriate enough after 17, and may belong to the original narrative, not to the interpolation. [Vs. 37 may be editorial, in substance derived from the section which follows.]

xxiv. 50-53 The parting of Jesus from his disciples.—I assume that L's account of the *Resurrection* (or, rather, that of the related source) ran as follows: Lk. xxiv. 13-36, 38, 44-53, omitting the textual interpolations and the still earlier interpolation of vv. 37, 39-43. The concluding paragraph, vv. 50-53, may be editorial, and not derived from L.

I assume then that L contained the following sections, and that if so they formed the 'blocks' or groups indicated:

Lk. iii. 10-14 The Baptist's preaching.	} Appropriate introductory sections.
iv. 16-30 The visit to Nazareth.	
v. 1-11 The Call of Simon.	
vii. 11-16 The widow's son at Nain.	} Women.
vii. 36-50 The penitent woman.	
viii. 1-3 The ministering women?	
ix. 51-56 The Samaritan village.	} Samaritans.
x. 29b-37 The Good Samaritan.	
x. 38-42 Mary and Martha.	} Women.
xi. 27-28 The woman's praise.	
xii. 13-21 On dividing an inheritance, and the Parable of the Rich Fool.	} Poverty and wealth; cf. below.
xii. 32-33a 'Fear not, little flock.'	
xiii. 1-5 The Galilean pilgrims, and the tower of Siloam.	} [Out of place; drawn here in Luke by Q?] [Probably here in L, but does not fit the context.]

xxiii. 10-17 The woman with a spirit of infirmity.	}	A pair of healings on the Sabbath.
xiv. 1-6 A man with dropsy.		
xiv. 7-10 On the choice of places.	}	Table talk.
xiv. 12-14 Guests.		
xiv. 28-32 On counting the cost.		—Discipleship.
xv. 3-32 Parables of the Recovered Sheep, Coin, and Son.	}	A unified group.
xvi. 1-9 Parable of the Clever Steward.		
xvi. 10-12 Faithfulness in administering earthly goods.	}	Parables on Stewardship and Wealth.
xvi. 19-31 Dives and Lazarus.		
xvii. 7-10 Parable of the Farmer and His Man.		
xvii. 12-19 The Ten Lepers.	}	Parables on Prayer.
xviii. 1-8 Parable of the Unjust Judge(?)		
xviii. 9-14 The Pharisee and the Publican.		
xix. 1-10 Zacchæus the Publican.	}	Drawn here by the parable just given?
xix. 40, 42-44 The Lament over Jerusalem (?)		Appropriate conclusion of the ministry?

[The 'gap' noted by Taylor occurs here.]

xxii. 15(?), 36-38(?), 53b The Last Night.	}	The Passion Narrative.
xxiii. 1-16 (om. vs. 3) The Trial.		
xxiii. 28b-31 The Journey to the Cross.		
xxiii. 39-43(?) The Crucifixion.	}	The Resurrection Narrative.
xxiv. 13-35 Appearance at Emmaus.		
xxiv. 36, 38, 44-49 Appearance to the Eleven.		
xxiv. 50-53(?) The final parting.		

A total of 279 verses and parts of verses. If the peculiar matter in the Passion and Resurrection Narratives be viewed as derived from a separate source (as I incline to view it), this total must be reduced by 64, leaving 215 verses. Q, it will be recalled, totals 262 verses or parts of verses. The two sources were thus similar not only in subject matter but also in length.

It is clear that Q and L, each of which differs noticeably from the Gospel of Mark, have different outlooks and, in

fact, distinct theologies.² The apocalyptic-eschatological element, which dominates almost the whole presentation in Mark and Matthew, and is conspicuous enough even in Q, is almost absent from L. The picture we derive from L is not that of the transcendent 'Son of Man' Messiah appearing upon earth as his own forerunner, so to speak, announcing his own impending advent (or 'return') in terms of even stronger certainty than John the Baptist had used, and calling a group who were to be his faithful followers and witnesses until he himself returned in glory. Instead, L presents us with a prophet who is almost something of a rabbi, or teacher, a *first-century* Jewish prophet, with a band of disciples who followed him, including even several women; with friends here and there throughout the country, in whose homes he is more than once a guest (rather than 'the Son of Man who hath not where to lay his head'³); who travels about healing the sick and teaching a gospel of pure and simple faith in God, having but slight relation to the future as conceived by the apocalyptists; who dies in the end on a trumped-up charge, which at this distance in time is somewhat hard to make out but which seems to have involved political activity of some sort—or the threat of it; and the story ends (either as L presents it or the 'cognate' source) with the accounts of his appearance to the disciples, 'alive after his passion,' and his final parting from them near Bethany. If we had only L to guide us, and lacked Q and Mark, it may be questioned if anyone would ever have suspected that Jesus was an apocalyptist, or claimed to be the Jewish Messiah, or was condemned by the Jewish authorities on this charge.

Like the Gospel of John, L (including for the nonce, as

² On the theology of Proto-Luke, combining Q and L, see V. Taylor, *Behind the Third Gospel*, ch. x.

³ Mt. viii. 20 = Lk. ix. 58 (Q).

we have already done, the cognate Lucan Passion Narrative) had no account of the Last Supper, nor had it an account of Jesus' Baptism. The sacramental and institutional element in Christian origins lies outside its circle of interests; in this the document betrays its fidelity to the early Palestinian traditions upon which it is based. Needless to say, there is not the slightest trace of Pauline influence upon it. Nor is there any trace of the institutionalism so apparent in the much later Gospel of Matthew. Thus neither later Palestinian nor contemporary Gentile (or 'Hellenist') ecclesiastical developments have left any mark upon L. Like Q, it is a thoroughly 'primitive' document; in some respects, I think, even more primitive.

Another indication of early date is the interest in women. Neither the rabbinic-minded author of Matthew nor the Roman Mark would have understood such an interest. Luke however found it in his source—i.e. in this particular source, L—and retained it. In view of the scandals to which the presence of female attendants upon prophets and religious founders gave rise in the Hellenistic world, and considering the obviously apologetic purpose of St. Luke, it is the more remarkable that he retains this feature—one which was accordingly doubtless authentic, and was also perfectly normal and required no explanation in a Jewish environment at the time of Jesus. There was considerable difference between the charity and hospitality of the Jewish housewife, whether at home in the Galilean village or on the community-pilgrimage to the Passover, and the dangerous religious devotion of the Hellenistic votary and prophetess—as the church of the second century learned to its cost. The material in L carries with it the atmosphere of a different world from that of the empire generally with its *mélange* of religions, viz. the atmosphere of strict and thoroughly moral Jewish piety.

V

THE STRUCTURE AND PURPOSE OF MARK

THE New Testament is the church's book—this is the viewpoint not only of traditional orthodoxy but also of present-day research. The New Testament is the classical, normative, and authoritative collection of the doctrinal-historical documents for the church's earliest period. True, there are other documents for this period; the existence of other documents is presupposed by the church's very choice of these to be the recognized 'canon of truth.' Not only the more or less heretical Gospels, Acts, and Apocalypses—these were for the most part of later origin; there were other writings, excluded from the canon, now roughly classified (since the seventeenth century) under the title, 'Apostolic Fathers,' whose main period of composition was roughly parallel to the *second* half of the century from 50–150 A. D. But these writings were secondary to the New Testament not only in date—the half-century or so of New Testament authorship (c. 50–100 or –110 A. D.)¹ was followed by the half-century of 'Sub-Apostolic' writings (c. 98–c. 150 A. D.)—they were also secondary in interest, authority, and doctrinal or ethical content. Nevertheless, it is fatally easy to drift into the historically quite unreal assumption that the literary activity of the early church either ceased for the two generations between St. John and St. Irenæus, and was confined to three or four faint luminaries who appeared in the darkness of this period, or that at least it found its interests in an entirely different group of subjects—with the result that the New Testament literature remains in as great apparent

¹ Excluding for the moment II Peter, which stands isolated at about 150 A. D.

isolation as before. Now such a view will, of course, not stand the test of real knowledge of the facts, though that does not prevent its widespread and more or less unconscious acceptance. We may hope that the revival of interest in Eusebius, now taking place, will help to remove this false impression. The New Testament stands in no danger of losing its uniqueness and its recognized spiritual authority; but it needs to be set in relation to the other literary products of early Christianity, to the literary forms, tendencies, and interests—some of which it did much to create, and which long survived the first and even the second centuries.² There is something to be said even for approaching the New Testament by way of Eusebius, as I have already suggested: for viewing the earliest literature of the church, that is, as the earliest documents of the great religious-historical evolution which led from St. Peter to Constantine, from Jerusalem to Nicæa, from St. Paul to Eusebius himself. It would be interesting to take Eusebius as a starting-point and work backward through early church history and literature to the origins of Christianity and its primary documents in the New Testament, tracing backward the course of historical, institutional, doctrinal, and literary evolution. Eusebius' dates and traditions, inferences and interpretations are often enough at fault; but he does give us a picture of the rise and expansion of early Christianity which is not only, for lack of a better, indispensable, but which in its wholeness and continuity (for all the lacunæ) is impressive and satisfying. Even his legends—e.g. King Abgar and the church

² A view which I evidently share to some extent with Professors Riddle and Case. In some respects, as Doctor Riddle has pointed out, "The line between the New Testament and church history disciplines is practically obliterated. . . . The proper starting-point for many New Testament projects should be . . . in the abundant sources of the second and third centuries" (*The Martyrs*, 1931, p. viii). Cf. Case, *Jesus*, pp. 104ff. (on the Gospels): "The Christian movement was the matrix that nourished into life all tradition from the earliest fragment to the most complete biographical narrative. Throughout the entire period of its growth, the gospel tree remained firmly rooted in the soil of the Christian society."

in Edessa,³ the martyrdom of James the Just at Jerusalem,⁴ the arrest of the grand-nephews of our Lord⁵—have something to teach: they convey the atmosphere, if nothing more, of the times from which the stories come. And his citations from earlier writers are among the most precious treasures that his narrative contains. How valuable they are, even a cursory examination of Harnack's *History of Early Christian Literature*⁶ will make clear. Without Eusebius many of the names in early Christian literature would be far obscurer than they are. And for our present purpose, there is one citation that ranks above all others—the account which Papias of Hierapolis gave of the origin of the first Gospel, in his *Expositions of the Divine Oracles* (H. E. iii. 39. 15).

Papias' statement of the tradition handed down from 'the presbyter' is still the starting-point for a satisfactory historical and literary analysis of the Gospel of Mark, brief and anecdotal as it is.

"This also the presbyter used to say: Mark, indeed, who became the interpreter of Peter, wrote accurately, as far as he remembered them, the things said or done by the Lord, but not however in order. For he had neither heard the Lord nor been his personal follower, but at a later stage, as I said, he had followed Peter, who used to adapt the teachings to the needs of the moment, but not as though he were drawing up a connected account of the oracles of the Lord: so that Mark committed no error in writing certain matters just as he remembered them. For he had one object only in view, viz. to leave out nothing of the things which he had heard, and to include no false statement among them."

Frequently as this statement has been quoted and alluded

³ H. E., i. 13.

⁴ ii. 23.

⁵ iii. 20.

⁶ Or of Lawlor and Oulton's translation (S. P. C. K., 1927), where the sources quoted by Eusebius are set off in smaller type.

to in discussions of the origin of Mark, it still carries with it an unexhausted freshness of suggestion—in strong contrast, for example, to the impossible inference of Augustine that Mark was only ‘one who followed Matthew and abridged his Gospel’: *pedisequus et breviator Matthæi*. I accept Doctor Rawlinson’s interpretation (in agreement with Harnack, Loisy, Bacon, and others) of the reference to ‘the presbyter’—his testimony, cited by Papias, ‘does not extend beyond the first sentence of the fragment; . . . the rest is Papias’ commentary upon it’ (*The Gospel acc. to St. Mark*, p. xxvi). Whence ‘the presbyter’ derived his information, supposing he was ‘the Presbyter John of Asia,’ it is impossible to ascertain. Not unlikely, however, the tradition had been current in Asia about the turn of the century, when, if not earlier, the Gospel of Mark must certainly have been fairly well known there. It is significant that the Gospel of John (if it really be of Ephesian provenance, and not written in Antioch) has more contacts with Mark than with either Matthew or Luke,⁷ and reflects a theological viewpoint not wholly unrelated to it—as Johannes Weiss pointed out more than once:⁸ e.g. their common view of the ‘judgment’ which the unbelieving Jews brought upon themselves. When the Gospel of Mark was brought to Asia, it came, no doubt, from Rome; and it bore with it the tradition of its origin in the remembered discourses of Peter written down by Mark. Now there may be more of inference than of tradition in Papias’ supplement to the words of ‘the presbyter.’ He is on the defensive. Mark’s order has been attacked. Compared with Matthew’s rigidly methodical arrangement, compared with John’s grouping of his material about a limited number of great ‘signs’ or divine manifestations, Mark’s order of events must have seemed highly questionable in Asiatic

⁷ See Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, ch. xiv.

⁸ *Alteste Evangelium*, p. 52, etc.

Christian circles. By the time of Papias (c. 145),⁹ there had been ample opportunity for such questionings and suspicions to crystallize in definite objections to the Gospel of Mark. In reply, Papias concedes that the book lacks proper order; but, then, he adds, that is just what we should expect—Mark wrote, not *καθεξῆς*, nor as though he were drawing up a connected narrative (as Luke had undertaken to do, for example; cf. Luke i. 3), but just as he remembered Peter's occasional discourses. And he certainly made no mistake in doing so, for his aim was not chronological exactitude nor even artistic or edifying arrangement, but comprehensiveness and accuracy in reporting. 'For he had but one object in view [or two, as we might say], to omit nothing of what he had heard, and to misrepresent or falsify nothing.'

As an expansion of the statement of 'the presbyter,' Papias' words are admirable; and as a defense of the Gospel of Mark, they are surely on the right line. With them tallies the oft-quoted statement of Irenæus:

"After the deaths [of Peter and Paul], Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, himself also handed down to us in writing the things which Peter had proclaimed" (*Against Heresies*, iii. 1. 1; cf. Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 8. 3).

The main content of this statement is no more, perhaps, than an echo of Papias; but the phrase, 'after the deaths of Peter and Paul' (as Rawlinson remarks, p. xxvii), adds something which 'may be reasonably ascribed to local Roman tradition,' since Irenæus had been in Rome. This tradition tallies well with the statement of the presbyter, contained in the first part of the quotation from Papias, and likewise with the expansion and apologetic application of the statement made in Papias' own words that follow. We may assume, then, that both Papias' quotation from the testimony of 'the elder,'

⁹ So Harnack, *Chronologie*, i. 357.

and Irenæus' testimony, go back to a common tradition—one form of it having come from Rome to Asia with the gospel, the other learned in Rome itself by Irenæus—though cross-currents are not to be reckoned impossible, especially in view of Irenæus' Asiatic antecedents and his obvious familiarity with Papias.

What we are concerned with at the present is not the provenance, date, or authorship of Mark—problems that have been admirably handled by Professors Bacon, Rawlinson, Johannes Weiss, and others—but, first of all, with the form and structure of the gospel. It is significant, I believe, that the earliest known tradition of the origin of Mark throws real light upon this particular problem. The other subject I wish to discuss at present, involved in the problem of the structure or order of the Gospel, is the problem of its sources. What Papias has to say—or, rather, the Elder, whom he quotes—has a bearing upon both. Of course Papias' statement is not exhaustive, nor final; for there are sections in Mark by no means derived from Peter. But as a suggestion for present research it is sound and illuminating.

Although the Gospel of Mark is appropriately designated 'the first Gospel,' i.e. the first complete 'Gospel' in the literary sense of that word, it was by no means the first collection or compilation of source material on the Life of our Lord. Luke uses it, among the writings of the 'many' who had 'taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word'—matters which he later defined, in the Preface to Acts, as 'all that Jesus began to do and to teach, until the day in which he was received up.' These 'sources' were not all of them 'Gospels,' like Mark; among them were the documents we now designate non-

committally by the letters Q and L; no doubt there were other sources, some written, some still oral, when Luke wrote. Mark lies about midway in the process of development from collections of Jesus' sayings and deeds to the finished 'Gospels' of Luke and Matthew, that 'According to the Hebrews' (of which only fragments now remain), and the still more highly developed but very different Gospel of John. Of course Mark lies closer to Luke and Matthew than to L and Q; but it is in unbroken contact with the earlier tradition, and emerges just above the level of these somewhat less continuous and less fully organized collections. (I have already discussed the arrangement of Q and L, and the indications of the existence within them of 'blocks' or groupings of material, suggesting as they do still earlier sources.) Parallel with Mark, and belonging to the same level of literary development, is Proto-Luke, if Street-er's hypothesis of the existence of that first form of the Lucan Gospel is, as I believe, to be accepted. And it is doubtless in contrast to the arrangement of the later Gospels that Mark appeared lacking in order, to the minds of Papias' contemporaries: hence his appeal to the explanation offered by 'the presbyter.'

Now I do not doubt that the tradition handed down by Papias in the name of 'the elder' is authentic, genuine tradition, and contains a real historical nucleus. It was the explanation of the way in which the Marcan Gospel arose—fragments, anecdotes, sayings, parables strung together with only a minimum of chronological consecutiveness. It was not a common or widespread tradition—at least not in Asia: otherwise Papias would not have required to advance it against the detractors of Mark's Gospel, nor to labor the point as he does. Yet it fits very closely the phenomena of this gospel's arrangement, and explains the state of the material as the evangelist found it—or collected it (at least

large parts of it)—for his own purposes, in the first instance. But as a comprehensive and final explanation of our earliest Gospel, the statement of the presbyter, and those of Papias and of Irenæus, leave something to be desired. And it seems to me that they are in error in combining two stages in the Gospel's origin into one, viz. the author's collection of material (including the direct dependence of some of this upon Peter's preaching), and the actual writing of the Gospel by its author. For there are certainly passages in Mark that can hardly go back to Peter, in addition to the fair number that most probably do—but of this more later. And it is certainly clear, upon a close examination of the Gospel itself, that 'the presbyter's' qualifying phrase, 'not, however, in order,' is scarcely the last word on the subject.

Practically all interpreters recognize two great main divisions in the Gospel: the first representing the early proclamation of the good news by Jesus, and leading up to the climax of Peter's Confession and the Transfiguration in chapters eight and nine (surely too naïvely rearranged by Schweitzer, who reverses their order!); the second the long Way of the Cross, that led from Cæsarea Philippi and the Mount of Transfiguration to Golgotha and the Empty Tomb. Bacon even goes so far as to find the principle of arrangement in the two sacraments of the church, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.¹⁰ This division into two parts, the beginning of Jesus' ministry and the end, is so simple that nothing less could be expected of any writer of a narrative of Jesus' public activity. Embedded in the second half is the Passion Narrative, surely the nucleus of any narrative of Jesus' life from the viewpoint of the early church. It would certainly be so in the Pauline churches—Paul himself refers to the tradition which he had received and handed on to his con-

¹⁰ See, for example, his *Jesus the Son of God* (1930), p. 57.

verts, and cites specifically the death, burial, resurrection, and appearances of the Lord.¹¹ And we may infer from the traditions preserved in I Acts that the same interest in the death of Christ was true of the presentation of the Gospel to its first hearers in Palestine. Moreover L, whatever its date—probably early—either concluded with a Passion Narrative or was supplied with one prior to the date of Luke's Gospel. Now the Passion Narrative was, *ex hypothesi*, an orderly and sequential statement of the final events in Jesus' life and ministry. Though Matthew and Luke do not hesitate to alter the arrangement of Marcan material in earlier chapters, they show a marked respect for its order here. In brief, it was the normal account of the last scenes of Jesus' life, and though it might be either abridged or expanded, or supplemented (as by Luke), its general order was not altered. Sayings and incidents in the Galilean ministry might be rearranged and reset in different contexts; but the Passion Narrative was too firmly established in what must certainly have been the approximate historic order for any serious changes to be introduced by the later evangelists. And this, I believe, was the original nucleus of the Marcan Gospel. Interpretation was introduced by added touches here and there—interpretation of the kind that any writer using historical material inevitably introduces into his narrative, as it passes through his own mind on its way to final formulation in ink on paper. But the main substance, and the general order, of the narrative was pretty well formulated before Mark wrote it down.

But when we turn from the Passion Narrative to survey the earlier contents of the Gospel, we find a singularly clear arrangement of its materials—partly chronological, but only partly so; much more definitely 'subjective,' i.e. the arrangement is by subject—what the Germans call

¹¹ I Cor. xv. 1-8.

sachliche Anordnung. And the subjects are those which must have been of paramount interest in the church of Mark's own time, that is in the sixties or seventies of the first century. In brief, the incidents and sayings recorded by Mark are grouped about a dozen or thirteen great controversies in which Jesus had engaged and in which the church, a generation later, was still engaged.¹² They are, apparently, the following:

1. The controversy over healing, i. 16-ii. 12.
2. The controversy over eating with sinners, ii. 13-17.
3. The controversy over fasting, ii. 18-22.
4. The controversy over keeping the Sabbath, ii. 23-iii. 5.
5. The controversy over the source of Jesus' 'power,' iii. 22-30.
6. The controversy over the external requirements of the Law, vii. 1-23.
7. The controversy over 'signs,' viii. 11-21.
8. The controversy over Elijah, ix. 11-13.
9. The controversy over the question of divorce, x. 2-12.
10. The controversy over Jesus' authority, xi. 27-33.
11. The controversy over civil obedience, xii. 13-17.
12. The controversy over the resurrection, xii. 18-25.
13. The controversy over the interpretation of the Law, xii. 28-34.

It is evident that some of these are closely related—the controversies over eating with sinners (2), over Sabbath observance (4), over the externals of the Law (6), over divorce (9), and over 'the greatest commandment' (13) are all questions of the interpretation of the Mosaic Law and concern its binding authority upon Jesus' followers and the Christian Church—controversies that were still alive in

¹² Already noted by J. Weiss, *Aelt. Evang.* (1903), pp. 153f., 365-368. See also Easton's essay in *Studies in Early Christianity* (1928), pp. 85ff.: 'A Primitive Tradition in Mark.' Cf. Bultmann, *Gesch.*, pp. 9-26, 39-58; Rawlinson, pp. xv, 25, etc.

Mark's day, and much later (as the Gospel of Matthew, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of Barnabas,¹³ and other and even later documents testify). Wherever Christians and orthodox Jews came in contact, there the old controversies were sure to burst in flame. The question of the source of Jesus' power (5) and that of his authority (10) were 'live issues' in the early Gentile church, in its Græco-Roman environment, even as in the days of his ministry among the Jews in Galilee and Jerusalem. The controversy over the promise of Elijah (8), though it may have possessed equal interest where followers of John the Baptist were concerned, was no doubt another keenly debated question at issue between Jews and early Christians.¹⁴ The question of the tribute money (11) was a real question still—for Paul's converts and for the readers of I Peter;¹⁵ certainly in its larger aspects of civil obedience it was not without vital implications for Christians in Rome in the days of Nero. 'Signs' (7) were still as strongly desiderated among the populace of Græco-Roman communities as they were in Palestine; witness Acts, and the Apocalypse of John—the demand continued down to the days of Cyprian;¹⁶ nor should we ignore Gregory the Great, and the whole host of medieval 'miracle-mongers'! Fasting (3) was still a problem at the date of the composition of the Didache, and later.¹⁷ Eating with 'sinners' was a problem in Paul's day in Corinth,

¹³ Mt. v. 17ff.; Heb. viii-x, etc.; Barn. i-xvii.

¹⁴ Since John was identified with the prophet whose return was to precede 'the great and terrible day of the Lord,' Mal. iv. 5; cf. Volz, *Jüd. Esch.* (1903), p. 192; Bousset-Gressmann, *Rel. des Judentums* (1926), pp. 232f.

¹⁵ Rom. xiii. 6-7; I Pet. ii. 13—the question is now one of obedience to 'every ordinance of man,' not merely of the payment of taxes, though the greater doubtless included the less. On contacts between Mark and I Peter, see Bacon, *Gospel of Mark* (1925), ch. xx—though he dates Mark far too late (time of Domitian, p. 316).

¹⁶ Acts ii. 43; iv. 30; v. 12; viii. 13; xiv. 3; etc.; Rom. xv. 19; II Cor. xii. 12; Heb. ii. 4; Ap. Jn. xiii. 13; xv. 1; etc.; Harnack, *Mission and Expansion*, i. 203-213 (ch. v).

¹⁷ Didache viii; II Clem. xvi. 4; Hermas, Sim. v. 1-3; Tertullian, *De jejuniis*; Clement of Alex., *Stromata* vii. 12. 75.

—though it took a somewhat different form;¹⁸ and the association of Christ (and of Christians) with the unworthy was a charge still hurled at the church in the time of Celsus—though Aristides had already met and answered it, unbeknown to Origen's doughty antagonist.¹⁹ Indeed, it is not difficult to see that not only the Gospel of John, but even Mark, half a century earlier, comes under the caption of Apologetics—necessarily so, for Christianity was from the first as much on the defensive as on the offensive in the great conflict of religions then raging in the Græco-Roman world. Though much in St. Mark is concerned with defense against Jewish attack, and with current controversy between Christians and Jews, it is not difficult to see that Gentile readers would also have a genuine and vital interest in the questions with which it dealt.²⁰

The main structure of Mark was accordingly determined by the arrangement thus far observed, viz. the Passion Nar-

¹⁸ That is, a Hellenistic and non-Jewish form, not the eating with Gentiles but the partaking of the table of a god (i.e., for Jews and Christians, of a demon). I Cor. x. 21.

¹⁹ Origen, *Contra Celsum* iii. 59; 'Anyone who is a sinner, or foolish, or simple-minded, in short, any unfortunate will be accepted by the Kingdom of God.' Aristides, *Apology* xv f. It is, however, not impossible that Celsus had read Aristides, as J. R. Harris holds (*Texts and Studies* i. 1, p. 23; cf. J. A. Robinson in the same vol., pp. 98f.).

²⁰ Perhaps one more 'controversy' should be added—that regarding the Davidic descent of the Messiah in ch. xii (which Jesus apparently repudiates: because of its political connotations?). This certainly would be a crucial question between Christians and Jews; and Mark's interpretation had against it the growing Christian interpretation reflected not only in Paul's statement (Rom. i. 3) but in the later Gospels of Matthew and Luke (and also in L, if Lk. i-ii belongs to that document—at least these two chh. contain pre-Lucan tradition). On the other hand it is a further indication of the Fourth Gospel's connection with Mark that the Marcan representation is reflected in Jn. vii. 41-42. See also Ep. Barn. xii. 10. Easton has pointed out (*Christ in the Gospels*, p. 39) that 'Jesus does not claim to be David's Son' in the earliest Christian tradition.' Cf. Ed. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* ii. 446. See also 'Peter in Antioch,' by Philip Carrington, in *Anglican Theological Review* xv. 1 (Jan. 1933).

Still another 'controversy' was that occasioned by the cleansing of the Temple—certainly related, at least in the minds of Mark's readers, to the attitude of Jesus toward the external requirements of the Law in ch. vii.

I have pointed out below the intra-ecclesiastical reference of some of Mark's material.

native prefaced by the controversies which led up to it. Incidentally, this provided the first answer to the perennial question, *Why* did Jesus die? For here was a question which must always have been asked, and always required an answer: If Jesus was the Messiah, the Son of God, why, then, did he die the shameful death upon the cross? How did it come about—historically, and as the end of what sequence of dire, unfortunate events? How did it come to pass—in the eternal counsels of God? To both forms of the question Mark undertakes to provide an answer: He died (1) because the Jewish leaders rejected him, and for envy (xv. 10) delivered him up to Pilate—the reason for their envy is clear from the series of controversies which Mark gives. For he had worsted them in argument; and his following had continued in spite of all their efforts to oppose him. He died (2) because he willed to die, to lay down his life a ransom for many (x. 45; xiv. 24). He died (3) because it was the will of God, and so it had been written of him (viii. 31; ix. 31; x. 33; xiv. 21, 36). The basic and fundamental structure of the gospel thus had a very clear and decisive motive. We may call it apologetic; but Mark simply *had* to answer the questions that were in the minds of all his readers, Jewish and Gentile, Christian and non-Christian.

But this was not all. There were controversies—or at least questions demanding answer—within the church itself. (1) Who were the true leaders of the church? (2) What prerogatives were the family of Jesus himself to enjoy in the church? (3) What was the relation of John the Baptizer to Jesus, and of his followers to the followers of Christ? (4) What were the marks of true discipleship—martyrdom, or something less? (5) What of the hope of the Kingdom? Was it still to come, and if so, when? What were to be the signs of the end of the present evil age? Must persecution

continue indefinitely, or was the hand of the Lord still over the elect? These were all vital questions for Mark's Christian readers, and to them likewise he undertook to give the answer. (1) The true leaders of the church are '*the Twelve*'—a simple and definite enough answer (iii. 13-19), with a long train of consequences for his own and later ages laid up in it. (2) The apostles appointed by Jesus, rather than the earthly family of the Lord, claiming prerogatives based upon Davidic ancestry (iii. 20-21, 31-35; xii. 35-37), were the divinely authorized leaders of the church. I cannot help thinking that the term 'Jerusalem caliphate,' used by Bacon and others, is too strong; and yet there was certainly a tendency at work in the Palestinian church to exalt the family of Jesus to a position of authority—and we may well suppose this issue came to a head in the sixties; James, the Lord's brother, headed the Jerusalem community from early in the sixties on.²¹ (3) The claims made for John the Baptizer by his followers—clearly repudiated in the first chapter of John (i. 8, 15, 19-34), and simply set aside by the author of Acts (i. 4-5; xix. 1-7)—were of sufficient importance when Mark wrote to require attention. According to Mark, John was simply identified with the returning Elijah predicted by Malachi, the national 'converter' whose coming was to precede 'the great and terrible Day of the Lord' (Mal. iv. 5-6). John was thus definitely made the precursor and forerunner of the Messiah—in no sense his rival; John's followers accordingly should turn and become followers of Christ, i.e. Christians. Here again a long train of inferences and interpretations was set in motion, leading on to the representation of John in the later Synoptics, in the

²¹ Harnack, *Chronologie* i. 219. Eusebius quotes a passage from Hegesippus (H. E. iii. 32. 6) which shows the widespread influence of the Lord's family in the Palestinian church down to the time of Trajan: "They came, therefore, and ruled every church, as being martyrs and of the Lord's family; and, when profound peace was established in every church, they remained until [the time of] Trajan Cæsar."

Fourth Gospel, in the Apocryphal Gospels and later legend, in the Mandæan writings, and in Christian biblical theology. (4) On the test of discipleship, Mark is very clear that *if martyrdom is required*, the demand must be met: 'he that loveth his life shall lose it; he that loseth his life, shall find it [in the age to come]' (cf. viii. 34-37).²² And yet the Lord will not fail to 'shorten the days' of persecution (xiii. 20), lest 'all flesh' perish—a hope apparently not shared by the author of the Apocalypse of John, for whom the prospect holds only an utter annihilation of the faithful upon earth.²³ In passage after passage Mark pictures the qualities of discipleship which Jesus loved and commended—the greatest disciple is the humblest; the cup of water shall not be forgotten; stones of stumbling must not be laid for one another; the spirit of childlikeness is the spirit Christ expects of his 'little ones'; riches are a hindrance; their share in Messiah's glory is to be won through lowly acts of service—such was the spirit Mark looked for, in the light of Jesus' teachings, in the martyr-church of his day, a sacrifice 'salted with fire' and laid upon the altar of complete self-renunciation for Christ's sake and the gospel's (ix. 49). (5) The 'Little Apocalypse,' supplemented with sayings from other sources, provided Mark with answers to the questions regarding the Parousia, its date, its precedent 'signs of the end,' the relation of the fiery trial of persecution to the impending return of Christ in glory. The motive underlying Mark's incorporation of the material in his thirteenth chapter is patent to everyone familiar with the thought and aspiration, the hopes and fears of the early Christian Church.

²² Cf. Bacon, *Gospel of Mark*, p. 9; and see Rawlinson's note on the central section in Mark (Comm., pp. 108-111): "The Marcan narrative . . . becomes at this point virtually an impressive sermon addressed to the reader. It enshrines . . . the kernel of a religious ethic appropriate to the martyr and missionary Church of Nero's time."

²³ Ap. Jn. vi. 11. Cf. Charles, *Commentary*, i. 43f.

Now to go back to our problem of structure. It is evident that although Mark probably had his material in scattered form, or at most in small 'blocks' of related sayings or incidents—such as might naturally be its form as derived from early Christian preaching, in part no doubt from Peter's preaching—he by no means left it in this shape permanently. Papias and 'the presbyter' are wrong on this point. Mark *did* write 'in order'; only his order was hid from the eyes of his second-century reader. (Did not Eusebius venture the opinion that the Bishop of Hierapolis was a trifle dense at times?)²⁴ And the order which Mark followed was never meant to be chronological, except in a broad general way. His principle of arrangement was by subject, not by order of time. Probably he was no better off, so far as chronological order is concerned, than any modern 'biographer' of our Lord. He had only the anecdotes and sayings derived from Christian preaching or teaching,²⁵ the current *kerygma* of the Gospel; and he had them in the order—or disorder—which Papias and 'the presbyter' describe. But instead of trying to recover the chronological sequence—a hopeless task, thirty years and more after the event, and one not laid upon him by his readers anyway—he arranged his materials in the order that best suited his purposes and the needs of the church in his day, viz. that which they now have in his gospel. If only this simple fact had been observed, the long reign of the 'Marcan hypothesis' in modern New Testament study would have been impossible, and gospel research would be much farther advanced than it is at present!

We are now in a position to understand the form and structure of this Gospel, in the light of the motives which

²⁴ σφόδρα γὰρ τοι σμικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν —H. E. iii. 39. 13.

²⁵ It is really Irenæus who gives the turn 'preaching' to the tradition; Papias, with more probability, had referred to *teaching* (Iren. iii. 1. 1.; Eus. H. E. iii. 39).

Mark had in mind, and with a clearer view of the materials at his disposal when he set about his task.

The book opens, apparently, with a title: '[The] beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, [the] Son of God.' I cannot persuade myself on the textual grounds now available, either that this was not its original form (including, that is, the divine title, 'Son of God'), or that the title of the book was added by some later editor—a later title would have been more comprehensive, for one thing, and would not have used 'gospel' in the modern (and really primitive) sense, for another. Nor can I believe that the words were a mere *protasis*, whose *apodosis* follows in v. 4 (skipping over the inserted quotations in vv. 2–3)—Mark was not very familiar with the Old Testament, and, moreover, he knew and used Q, from whence apparently the Old Testament quotation as well as the following account of John the Baptist and of Jesus' temptation was derived. The first verse of the Gospel, accordingly, I prefer to treat as a title—though not, of course, a title in the modern sense, but something more like the mediæval *incipit evangelium Jesu Christi*.

The introductory section (i. 2–15) was, as I have suggested, based very largely on Q, which document (or cycle of tradition!) undoubtedly opened with an account of John's preaching and of Jesus' temptation. Naturally, there was no other place for these narratives than at the beginning. No principle of structural arrangement need be invoked to account for their location at this point, or for the location here of the Marcan account of Jesus' baptism and missionary call. The apostolic church invariably viewed the Christian movement as 'beginning from the baptism of John' (Acts i. 22). It may perhaps be possible to argue that Jesus' temptation came late in his ministry, and to connect it with the transfiguration or with Peter's confession rather than with the bap-

tism; it may even be possible to argue with Renan²⁶ that his baptism came later than the beginning of his ministry, viz. at a time when Jesus, hitherto an independent teacher in Galilee, accepted John's teaching and baptism and associated himself with the whole Messianic movement initiated by John; but such arguments must necessarily make considerable use of hypothetical and subjective considerations, since historical criticism can hardly get back of the primary documents (Q, Mark, and probably L) now accessible to us.

Mark begins his own narrative, after the introductory section derived from Q (or from the account of Christian beginnings current in the church at that time), with the dramatic story of the day in Capernaum. This may very probably come from Peter; many a writer has pointed out the traces of Peter's reminiscences which it contains, and they are doubtless patent to every careful reader. But to it Mark has added the account of the healing of a leper (i. 40-45), which may come from almost any period of our Lord's activity—though there are indications that it belongs much later than the beginning; he then adds the narrative of the healing of the man 'sick of the palsy' (ii. 1-12). The reason for this arrangement is clear: the day in Capernaum had been a day of healings, apparently at the very beginning of Jesus' ministry, and the whole section (i. 16-ii. 12) reaches a climax in the controversy over this very activity of healing and the accompanying forgiveness of sins. It doubtless served Mark's purpose to represent Jesus as beginning his Messianic career as a healer and forgiver of sins, as well as a teacher; though it is, of course, a question if, historically, Jesus came into collision with the scribes this early in his ministry. As J. Weiss pointed out,²⁷ Mark aimed to represent Jesus as *already* Messiah, even during his life upon

²⁶ *Life of Jesus*, ch. vi. Contrast Goguel, *Jean-Baptiste* (1928), p. 253.

²⁷ *Die Schriften des N. T.* i. 72. Cf. B. Weiss in Meyer i. 2, p. 8.

earth and preceding his Resurrection and glorification as the Son of God. The first narrative block in the Gospel thus has for its motive the representation of Jesus as a healer of sickness and disease, engaging in successful controversy with the scribes upon this very subject—i.e. the implied and demonstrated authority to forgive sins which his successful activity as a healer carried with it.

The next section, on the call of Levi and eating with sinners (ii. 13–17), introduces the controversy occasioned by his association with ‘publicans and sinners’—not necessarily outcasts, but those who disregarded the Pharisaic rules governing contact with such as neglected the food-regulations. This was a subject of keen dispute both within and without the church long after the date of Paul’s Epistles to the Galatians and Corinthians and the Apostolic Council in Jerusalem!²⁸

The third controversy follows in the next section (ii. 18–22), on the subject of fasting. Jesus’ answer might have been understood, originally, almost as a rabbinic pleasantry and in the spirit of mild rebuke, like the clever retorts which the later rabbis loved to indulge in and to repeat; but it has been elaborated by Mark (or by the tradition) into a tragic *epideixis* of impending doom: the words about the bridegroom and his companions; while the saying about wine and wineskins seems scarcely relevant to the incident related, but concerns the still highly controversial subject which Mark has in mind at this point.²⁹ It sets forth a principle which really did solve all such problems.

²⁸ Where the basic problem is that of eating food offered to idols, and of association with those who neglected the Jewish food-regulations. Cf. the Mishna tractate, Aboda-zara, and Tertullian, De idololatria. Note also the old form of the Apostolic Decree, Acts xv. 20, 29. The omissions of D, Lat vet, Iren, etc., cannot represent the earliest text. The problem was thus not precisely the same as that presupposed in the gospel, but the general similarity is apparent. Mark gives the most closely relevant material to be found in the evangelic tradition.

²⁹ Cf. Bultmann, *Gesch. Syn. Trad.*, new ed., pp. 17f.

The next section (ii. 23–iii. 5) has to do entirely with Sabbath observance—and introduces what one might easily suppose was the fourth major subject of controversy between Jews and Christians, certainly in the period preceding the Fall of Jerusalem.³⁰ At any rate, it certainly was not chronological considerations but controversial exigencies that led to the insertion of this section—and of those that precede—so early in the story. One may assume, perhaps, that a similar motive accounts for the preservation and formulation of the narratives in the tradition upon which Mark has drawn. That Mark consciously held this motive is clear from the verse that follows (iii. 6), stating the antagonism of the Pharisees and Herodians and their determination to destroy Jesus. Nevertheless, Mark is not writing a handbook of polemics, but a history—as his title, his introductory section, his general framework, and his inclusion of the Passion Narrative all show. He therefore next inserts a summary of Jesus' public ministry of exorcism (iii. 7–12), not drawn from any of his sources but written in his own hand—the first of several summaries and transitions that serve to give continuity and movement to his book.³¹ One notes also that in the earlier sections of the Gospel Mark has so completely rewritten his materials that it is often difficult to make out the distinction between his sources and his own additions (compare his treatment of Q in i. 2–13), and to distinguish traditional elements from editorial. But, as all writers know, fatigue sometimes overcomes ambition, and from now on the signs of rewriting are less common. This would be the more natural in a writer as nonliterary as Mark, and especially since from now on his materials are fuller than for the earlier sections.

³⁰ But we find it also in Ep. Hebs. iii. 1–iv. 13 (toward the close of the century). Cf. Bacon, *Gospel of Mark*, pp. 331f.

³¹ Similar summaries are to be seen in Mark i. 39, 45; iv. 33f.; vi. 7–13 (based on Q); ix. 30; x. 1; etc.

The appointment of the Twelve comes next (iii. 13-19)—an incident that Mark doubtless thinks of as coming early in Jesus' ministry, as the foundation of his Messianic community; moreover, as I have suggested, it may have had a bearing on the question of true leadership in the church. This view is strengthened by the narrative that follows, on Jesus' true family (iii. 20-21, 31-35)—the Davidic claims of Jesus' family may not have been extinct even as late as the time of Domitian, and while James, the Lord's brother, headed the church in Jerusalem they may have been somewhat vigorously advocated. That is to say, the question was a real one when the Gospel was written.

The section on the scribes' charge that Jesus' cures were wrought by collusion with Beelzebub (iii. 22-30) introduces the controversy over the source of Jesus' 'power' to heal, and it is inserted in the passage on Jesus' family in order to show the character of his activity, which apparently suggested some kind of superhuman 'possession' or investiture with the Spirit—diabolical, said the scribes; divine, said Jesus' followers and disciples and the church in Mark's day and—most important of all—so Jesus himself had said.³²

But controversy alone was not enough to give substance to the book Mark had in mind. Jesus was a teacher as well as a healer; as Messiah he was both. Hence there follows the long section (iv. 1-34) giving a collection of Jesus'

³² It is not at all impossible that the combination of these narratives was older than the date of Mark's writing—especially if, as Professor Riddle holds, the attitude displayed is 'more academic than polemic.' The 'Son of Man' sayings in ch. ii. 10, 28, look academic enough—as applications of what the younger Weiss called *Menschensohnsdogmatik*. I do not deny that the material is older, indeed, traditional—that is my point too; but I believe its present Marcan form is polemical. I really believe the controversial element is much older than Mark; some of it, as in ch. vii, looks like Jewish school-disputation, where rabbi confronts rabbi with divergent and vigorously defended interpretations of the Law. If this is a correct surmise, the 'academic' use of the controversies by the author of Mark suggests that they may already have taken written form, or at least a stereotyped oral form; what Mark does is arrange them in a kind of sequence and draw out the implicit inferences for the Life of Christ.

parables—somewhat as the later Synoptists give an extended example of Jesus' preaching in their two Sermons.³³

The next block (iv. 35-v. 43) illustrates Jesus' divine power, the very thing called in question by the scribes. It extends to physical nature (the rebuking of the storm), to the demons (the Gerasene demoniac), to long-continued illness (the woman with an issue of blood), and is even superior to death itself (Jairus' daughter—the climax of the section). These sections may possibly be derived from Peter's preaching; but one thinks rather of the general Christian tradition as their source, especially since *local* legend (in Galilee) seems out of the question.

The next group shows the results of Jesus' preaching (and of John's)—i.e. the general situation about the middle of Jesus' ministry. It is noteworthy how one incident suggests another, in the kind of subject-sequence already noted: the visit to Nazareth, and his rejection there (vi. 1-6) suggests the Mission of the Twelve (vi. 7-13); this creates a setting for Herod's opinion of Jesus (vi. 14-16), and this in turn suggests the story of John's death at Herod's hands (vi. 17-29); while the section closes with the statement of Jesus' withdrawal into retirement (vi. 30-34).

Another group of incidents now follows illustrating Jesus' power: the feeding of the five thousand (vi. 35-44), the walking on the sea (vi. 45-52), and the gathering of the multitude for healing (vi. 53-56)—the last passage sums up once more the general impression as in iii. 7ff.

With the beginning of chapter vii we are introduced to another controversy: the question of washing of hands and

³³ Somewhat the same situation confronts us here as in the preceding section. The series of parables is inserted into a controversy section; was the series of parables *later* than the controversy-framework? Perhaps; though there is no reason that I can see why Mark himself may not have effected this arrangement. The style is certainly his own. And there is no compelling evidence—so far as I know—for an *Urmarcus*, save in the greatly modified and attenuated sense in which J. Weiss held the theory.

Jesus' rejection of the externals of the Law—a fundamental issue, taken in its broadest bearings, not only for the life of Jesus but for primitive Christianity as a whole. We may assume that it had not wholly disappeared even in Mark's time, in Rome, though the crisis had arisen long before, in Galatia, in Antioch, in Jerusalem itself in the great days when the glorious apostles Peter and Paul were at the height of their power.

Next follows what may be designated Mark's 'great insertion' (vii. 24–viii. 26), taking over the term from the critical analysis of the Gospel of Luke. Although the existence of this section (which Luke omits) has been viewed as evidence of two editions of Mark, one used by Luke and the other by Matthew,³⁴ there can be little doubt that the style and diction are Mark's own. The material appropriately follows vii. 1–23. Jesus rejects the external Law, and turns to the Gentiles of Tyre and Sidon and Decapolis—much as Paul did repeatedly, preaching 'to the Jews first, then to the Gentiles.'³⁵ Nevertheless, though this was, I doubt not, Mark's motive, his material was extremely intractable: the very first incident, that of the Syro-Phœnician woman, seems to represent Jesus as unwilling to minister to Gentiles—the healing has to be wrung from his unwilling hands by the force of imploring love and faith. And it is to be observed that even in the midst of the section, i.e. outside Palestine proper, the Pharisees reappear (!) and demand a 'sign' (viii. 11–12).³⁶ This introduces the seventh controversy—one that no doubt continued through several decades after the close of Jesus' ministry: one thinks of the 'signs of an apostle' de-

³⁴ Cf. V. H. Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents* (1909), ii. 150ff.

³⁵ At least, so Acts represents: xiii. 46; xvii. 2, 10, etc. Cf. Rom. i. 16; ii. 9, 10. Paul's own Epistles ought to suffice to vindicate the procedure represented by the author of Acts.

³⁶ Why here, in this section? Evidently, 'the Pharisees' are a conventional editorial addition, introduced simply to make possible the insertion of the question and answer (from Q).

manded of St. Paul, and of the 'lying signs and wonders' rejected by the Apocalypse of John, of the 'signs' of the end in all the apocalypses, and the 'signs' (in another sense) with which the Johannine Christ vindicates his divine nature and mission. The question was a vital one throughout the early church; Jesus' refusal to give signs was a fundamental problem—handled with uncertainty by Matthew, e.g., who adds, "except the sign of Jonah," and solved finally by the Fourth Evangelist only by complete reversal of the tradition and substitution of the seven great theophanic 'signs' or manifestations of Jesus' glory.

Peter's confession (viii. 27-30) marks the turning point in the Gospel. In spite of scribal and Pharisean antagonism, in spite of 'the leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod' (viii. 13-21), Jesus is recognized as Messiah upon earth: 'Thou *art* the Christ.' But this position is gained only to introduce the prospect of rejection and apparent defeat, and even the death of Christ at the hands of his enemies. It is as when a lofty mountain height has been attained, after wearisome effort, only to discover that beyond lies a dark and rugged valley of shadows with other peaks beyond. Between the mount of transfiguration and the hill of Calvary lies a dark, mysterious, and dangerous passage. The first Passion Announcement (viii. 31-33) is followed at once by Jesus' words on self-denial (viii. 34-37), on confession of the Son of Man before men (viii. 38), and on the immediacy of the Kingdom (ix. 1)—a grouping undoubtedly due to Mark himself and full of significance to the martyr church for whom he wrote. The Transfiguration, the narrative of which follows at once (ix. 2-8), was probably viewed by Mark—as it was by the one who gave us our modern chapter-divisions—as the fulfillment (or at least as one fulfillment) of the prediction of the immediacy of the Kingdom in vs. 1.

Essentially it is an anticipation of 'the glory which was to be revealed' when the Messiah returned in triumph at the end of the age and the Kingdom came 'with power.'³⁷ The command of silence which follows is a characteristic Marcan addition (ix. 9-10); while the discussion of the coming of Elijah, which Elijah's appearance at the Transfiguration has suggested, serves a double purpose: it answers the question of unbelieving Jews, How can Jesus be the Messiah if Elijah has not yet appeared (since Scripture made it clear his coming was to precede the end)?³⁸ (Perhaps it also answered the questions of some Christians as to the real nature of the strange prophet of the wilderness.) And it also introduces once more the theme of the Messiah's impending fate. I assume that the late Professor Turner has rearranged the passage in its proper order,³⁹ and that the question of the disciples was: 'How is it that the scribes say that Elijah must first come?' The words (12b), 'And how is it written of the Son of Man, that he should suffer many things and be set at naught?' should be inserted between verses 10 and 11 . . . The healing of the dumb child at the foot of the mountain (ix. 14-29) serves to illustrate once more Jesus' power, and to set off at an appropriate distance the second Passion Announcement which follows (ix. 30-32).

Just as in Q (and likewise in L) we find material on the

³⁷ Though it is not impossible that what we are dealing with here was originally a narrative of a post-Resurrection appearance of Jesus. Cf. Bultmann, pp. 278-81, and references in the notes.

³⁸ Cf. note 14, *supra*.

³⁹ C. H. Turner, *The Study of the New Testament*, 1883-1920,² p. 61. See also Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, p. 7. Turner's order is vv. 9-10, 12b, 11, 12a, 13. Bousset makes 12b an interpolation from Mt. xvii. 12b. Another possible rearrangement is to transfer 12b to follow 13, where it suits the Marcan representation of our Lord's anticipations and veiled hints of his impending death. A further difficulty with the passage arises from the obvious fact that if the disciples understood the reference to the Son of Man, they would certainly understand the reference to the Resurrection (vs. 10): the two ideas implied each other in the Enochic type of apocalyptic eschatology. It is perhaps a further indication of Mark's unfamiliarity with contemporary Judaism.

duties of disciples, so Mark gives a series of sections—indeed, three series of sections (ix. 33–50; x. 15–31; 35–45)—on the same subject; the principle is followed likewise by the two later synoptists. Two of the incorporated sayings, at least, are derived from Q (ix. 37; x. 15), though in somewhat modified form. We shall not pause to examine them in detail, but it is obvious that they continue the presentation of Jesus' teaching. It is extraordinary how much of that teaching, as Mark gives it (and likewise Matthew, following Mark), has to do with the high privileges and stern duties of discipleship; and one has little difficulty in imagining how welcome and how inspiring it was to the harassed church in Rome in Mark's days.

The historical note, Jesus' journey to Judea (x. 1), is Mark's own, and at once we are back in the midst of controversy with the statement of the law of marriage (x. 2–9), the prohibition of divorce (x. 10–11), and Mark's editorial addition (x. 12) applying the principle still further to Roman and non-Jewish conditions. The blessing of the children (x. 13–14; 16) introduces the second section on discipleship (x. 15–31), and this in turn sets off the third Passion Announcement (x. 32–34), followed at once by the continuation of the teaching on discipleship: the request of James and John (x. 35–40), and Jesus' words on the glory of service (x. 41–45).⁴⁰ A succession of historical narratives now

⁴⁰ It is not at all impossible that the incident in x. 35–45, leading up to the saying, 'The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to lay down his life as a ransom for many,' had some relation to the controversy over the true leaders of the church, noted above. It would have added significance, if such was the case, in view of the martyrdom the leaders of the Roman church might be called upon to face: the spirit of the church's true leaders was to be seen in Jesus' saying, not in the request of James and John—they too must be ready to lay down their lives 'a ransom for many.' (Was there an implicit contrast here to the family of Jesus?) That the 'cup' and the 'baptism' of vs. 39 imply that James and John are already martyred seems obvious, quite apart from the evidence of the DeBoor fragment of Papias, the Syriac Martyrology, etc. See MacGregor's Comm. on John, Int., pp. liif., or Charles, *Revelation*, vol. i, pp. xlv–l, where the evidence is gathered.—The contrast was all the sharper if, as the early tradition represents, Peter and Paul had *recently* been martyred in Rome, where Mark was written,

appears: Bartimæus (x. 46-52), the Triumphal Entry (xi. 1-10), the entry into the Temple (xi. 11), the cursing of the fig tree on the following day (xi. 12-14), the cleansing of the Temple (xi. 15-18)—surely another occasion of controversy, as St. Matthew clearly recognizes, though Mark notes only the final determination of the chief priests and scribes to destroy Jesus.⁴¹ The following verse, clearly Mark's own addition (xi. 19), notes that Jesus and his disciples spent the night outside the city, and their return in the morning provides the setting for the lesson from the withered fig tree (xi. 20-22), introducing in turn a tiny block of three sayings on the power of faith (xi. 23), on the power of prayer (xi. 24), and on forgiveness in prayer (xi. 25).

The real sequel to the cleansing of the Temple is the controversy over Jesus' authority (xi. 27-33), which introduces the series of major controversies leading up to the Passion Narrative. The Parable of the Vineyard, or of the Wicked Husbandmen (xii. 1-12), fits in rather unevenly into the context; and though it seems here and there to reflect Jesus' own style and manner in telling a parable, I cannot believe with Burkitt⁴² that it is authentic—at least in its present form. It is not impossible that Jesus should have told a parable like this—at the very end of his life, and face to face with the death which he recognized and accepted. But the parable before us has at least been retouched in transmission, from the early Christian point of view.⁴³ It was one

⁴¹ He takes up the theme later; see next paragraph.

⁴² At least with Burkitt in 1908; see *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, ii. 321-328. See (on the other side) Bacon, *Gospel of Mark*, p. 148: 'In reality it is not strictly a parable, but allegory, and . . . cannot be regarded as more than an adaptation of some authentic utterance of Jesus.'

⁴³ The parable seems to interrupt the sequence of the controversies with the authorities in Jerusalem; and, if authentic, it was certainly addressed to the disciples, not to the scribes. I imagine that it arose within the early Palestinian church, and has been edited for inclusion here in the series of controversies. However, a similar

which was no doubt frequently quoted, in controversy with non-Christian Jews.

The controversy over Jesus' authority was probably followed at once in Mark's source by the question about the tribute money (xii. 13-17); this by the controversy over marriage and the Resurrection (xii. 18-25), followed immediately by the anti-Sadducean proof of the Resurrection (xii. 26-27); and this in turn by another controversy over the interpretation of the Law—this time the question of the chief commandment (xii. 28-34). So closely do these controversies follow one another, just as in chh. ii-iii, that the suggestion lies close at hand that Mark is making use either of a written document or of a catena of oral tradition already fairly fixed in his own time and in frequent use in the controversies with non-Christian Jews. At least, it is fairly probable that these three questions were commonplaces of Jewish-Christian controversy in Palestine⁴⁴ between 30 and 60 A. D. and perhaps also in Rome from the time of the first Christian mission in that city to the date of Mark's writing—and later, both in Palestine and Rome, and wherever Jews and Christians came in vigorous contact. But

parable (or allegory) in *Hermas*, Sim. v. 2. 1ff., must not be overlooked (see Lake, *Landmarks in the History of Early Christianity*, pp. 85-87). Some such parable might well have been a commonplace of Christian preaching, teaching or polemics in the early Roman church. The economic and industrial background it presupposes suits better the Italian management of *latifundia* than the simple peasant land-tenure of Palestine. True, the description of the vineyard is based on the LXX of Isaiah, but the γεωργοί act more like a company of rascally operators of a distant holding than workers on a Palestinian homestead. For example, they assume that the owner is dead, and that if they kill the heir the vineyard will be theirs—unless here, as elsewhere in the context, the requirements of the allegory are determinative.

⁴⁴ There can be little doubt that the ultimate source of Mark's tradition is mainly Palestinian—as is true of the Synoptic tradition generally. Cf. Bultmann, *Gesch.*, pp. 41, 49, 393f., etc.; Easton, *Christ in Gospels*, p. 37; Bacon, *Gospel of Mark*, p. 138, etc. This consensus does not rest in the least upon the possibility of translating Mark or his sources, or those of Matthew or Luke, back into Palestinian Aramaic. It is important to note, however, that the tradition behind Mark has been circulated in Greek for some time prior to the author's use of it; and that Q and L are Greek documents, not mere translations. Easton even goes so far as to maintain that 'Greek-speaking Christianity is practically as old as Christianity itself' (l. c.).

there is no reason why they should not also have been commonplaces in Jesus' controversies with the religious teachers in his day. Their form has been touched up and amplified; their substance goes back, through the oral tradition in which they were preserved, to Jesus himself. However, the suggestion of a written document (or stereotyped sequence of oral tradition) is strengthened by the inclusion of the passage immediately following (xii. 35-37) in which Jesus repudiates the scribal identification of the Messiah with the Son of David (and likewise, no doubt, the whole associated complex of mundane and political eschatology, connected with the expectation of the Son of David Messiah).⁴⁵ This was as much a problem within the church as it was a subject of controversy with orthodox Jews. And I venture to believe that Jesus' repudiation of it was much more emphatic than the present form of the tradition would lead us to think. Here it is presented in the form of an enigmatic question—reminding one of the style and manner of Jesus' references to John the Baptist and Elijah 'who is to come.'⁴⁶ Perhaps this was all that survived the strong counter-current, equally operative in the pre-Markan tradition, of identification of Jesus with the Son of David—a terminology and a set of ideas that reached a climax in the Matthean and Lucan Gospels;⁴⁷ i.e. it had triumphed probably by 80-85 A. D.,

⁴⁵ Vide supra, note 20.

⁴⁶ On the question-and-answer 'form,' see Bultmann, pp. 20ff., 25ff., 39ff.

⁴⁷ The traditions in Mt. i-ii are late enough (end of the century); but those in Lk. i-ii (either derived from L or, as I think, from a Jewish-Christian, Palestinian, and probably Judean source cognate to L) are earlier—probably, I should think, the underlying document is at least ten years earlier than the Gospel of Luke. The simple 'Son of David' Messiahship presupposed, so similar to that of the 'Psalms of the Pharisees' (*Pss. of Solomon*), was probably not greatly altered from its Jewish original. That the document dates from a time prior to 66-70 A. D. seems to be presupposed: only a fully transcendent and wholly nonpolitical Messianism was possible for Jewish Christians (or for Jews!—see IV Ezra and Apoc. Baruch) in the years following that national catastrophe. If a generalization may be permitted, the non-nationalistic 'Son of Man' Messiahship of Enoch, Matthew, IV Ezra, Q, points toward the north; the more nationalistic 'Son of David' type would be naturally

certainly by the end of the century, at least in Palestine and Syria, and Matthew and Luke simply record the fact and incorporate the legends—variant as they are—that had grown up about the identification. The remarkable thing is that any protest whatsoever survived, even one voiced by the Lord himself.⁴⁸

Now, if we are not mistaken about the source used by Mark here (either written, or in stereotyped oral form), the warning against the scribes (xii. 38–40) may readily be viewed as the summary and conclusion of that document (or oral sequence) of controversial commonplaces.⁴⁹ The notion of ‘primitive Christian handbooks’ of apologetics, of Scripture proof-texts, of anti-Jewish polemics, of apocalyp-tics, or of ethical counsels to disciples (e.g. the ‘Two Ways’) has been advanced more than once in the history of New Testament criticism, and I do not purpose to add another hypothesis, or to revive an older one, unnecessarily. But the facts of Marcan order and arrangement speak for themselves; and some hypothesis of this nature seems to me all but unavoidable.

The conclusion of the series, with the appended anecdote of the widow’s mite (xii. 41–44), suggested no doubt by

more at home in the south, in the neighborhood of the old original capital and the Temple. (The Roman governor’s residence was at Cæsarea; but that made no difference—the Romans were ‘usurpers’ and ‘oppressors.’)

⁴⁸ One is reminded of the similar problem, and the similar tendency to obliterate difficult facts, in the account of Jesus’ baptism as given by Matthew.

I have pointed out above (footnote 20) the agreement of the Fourth Gospel with this presentation of the tradition. The triumph of the ‘Pauline’ view (i.e. the one which Paul derived from the Hellenistic church, itself dependent for its traditions of Jesus upon those of the Palestinian churches) in later Pauline circles is evidenced by II Tim. ii. 8. Perhaps the view was not so much either ‘Pauline’ or common to the Hellenistic churches, as a natural inference from Christian exegesis of the Old Testament.

⁴⁹ The saying probably came originally from Q, which had a section on this subject. Thus Q itself is evidence for the origin of the controversy-tradition in Jesus’ own lifetime. The lengths to which it was carried, however, exceed even the Controversy Source in Mark; in the Gospel of Matthew, e.g., and in the Didache, the debate has become acrimonious, and Jews and Christians are scarcely on speaking terms—even for purposes of controversy!

the mention of 'widows' houses' in vs. 40 (from Q?), forms the transition to and the setting for Mark's famous eschatological chapter (xiii), on the approaching end of the age and its preceding events viewed as 'signs.' Here we are almost certainly dealing with a pre-Marcian document, the 'Little Apocalypse' (vv. 6-8; 14-20; 24-27), pieced out with sayings (some of them perhaps derived from Q) which for the most part undoubtedly go back to our Lord.⁵⁰ But the setting is certainly Mark's own; it was suggested by the conclusion of the controversy-sequence, and involved merely Jesus' withdrawal from the Temple to the Mount of Olives.⁵¹

With ch. xiv begins the Passion Narrative, which, we may assume, was probably in more or less concrete form long before Mark wrote; its general order and contents were a commonplace of current Christian tradition. I do not doubt that Mark's Passion Narrative contains many an insertion, many an added touch, many an interpretation and emphasis, for which Mark himself was responsible;⁵² and, back of Mark, the Roman form of the narrative shows real divergences from the probably Palestinian or Syrian form that we meet with in our other main source, the one underlying Luke's Passion Narrative. But its general order and arrangement, and its main contents, were, I doubt not, fairly well fixed long before Mark took up the pen. Some additions to the narrative may possibly go back to Peter—especially the account of Peter's denials; though the distinction is not easy to draw between Peter's own reminiscences and the details of the growing Petrine legend—at whose founda-

⁵⁰ The most serious difficulties are found in vv. 21-23; vv. 9-13 and 28-37 contain numerous echoes of Q. Bacon's thorough investigation (*Gospel of Mark*, Part II, pp. 53-134) deserves careful study.

⁵¹ It is a question whether the Little Apocalypse had an introduction, which Mark has used in vv. 1-5 (as an esoteric Christian 'revelation'), or whether Mark has freely composed these verses as the introduction to the whole composite apocalyptic section.

⁵² Definite Marcian editorial additions are to be seen in xiv. 1-2, 10-11, 21, 26, 51-52, and elsewhere.

tion his own recollections, in one form or another, doubtless lay. Such a legend grew swiftly, following the martyrdom of a great and deservedly popular saint—note how swiftly, a century later, the Polycarp legend arose; and many another instance might be adduced from the literature of martyrdom in the early church—some even from the book of Acts and elsewhere in the New Testament.⁵³

It may seem that far too much space has been devoted to this detailed examination of the contents of Mark; but there is no other way to study the structure of the Gospel than by a detailed analysis of its contents. As for results, certainly one or two facts are clear. First, Papias' statement of the disorder of Mark gives us a clue—but no more than a clue—to the ultimate derivation of Mark's material. Not from Peter's preaching⁵⁴ alone, though there are doubtless elements derived from Peter, but from the early Christian preaching or teaching in general, Mark has drawn a large amount of his material. In particular, he has drawn much from some body of early Christian anti-Jewish polemics, whose order and sequence provides the order for long sections of the Gospel. If this was the substance of a considerable amount of early Christian preaching and teaching, we need not be surprised—not all early Christian preachers were St. Pauls. Nor need it surprise us as a sample, in particular, of the preaching to which the early Roman church was accustomed: one thinks of Clement, Hermas, and Justin as a singularly uninspired succession of preachers and leaders and representatives of that nevertheless enormously influential

⁵³ The Martyrdom of Polycarp was written within a year of the saint's death (Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, p. 185). Professor Riddle has made a special study of this subject. See his article, 'From Apocalypse to Martyrology' in *Angl. Theol. Rev.*, ix. 260-280; also his book, *The Martyrs*, Chicago, 1931.

⁵⁴ Or rather, 'teaching,' as Papias (not Irenæus) says: *ὁς πρὸς τὰς χηρὰς ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας* (Eusebius, H. E., iii. 39. 15).

church. It was a church of martyrs; but how cold and unimaginative must many of those early Roman Christians have been, and how stern, even severe, was their faith! By contrast with Luke, and his great document L; by contrast with Q, of which Mark makes such slight use, though he quotes sayings from it again and again, perhaps only from memory; in contrast with 'John,' with his warm Asiatic enthusiasm and deep feeling for spiritual realities—though he is not without many a trace of Marcan influence; by contrast, above all, with the letters of Paul, little as they give us of the life and teaching of Christ, but much of his influence, his 'mind,' as Professor Porter has shown;⁵⁵ by these contrasts, Mark seems decidedly narrow and severe in his conception and representation of Christ. What stuff those Roman Christians were made of, to be inspired to heroic testimony to their faith, steadfast even unto death, by a religious life so largely controversial! And yet there is little doubt that the spirit of that age and locality is accurately reflected in this earliest Gospel. We may look back upon those ancient controversies, thankful that they are now among the 'old, unhappy, far-off things'; and at the same time recognize that the very sternness of this creed had much to do with its survival in a heroic time and amid a people whose religion had for generations been bred of the sternest and most austere antecedents.

The ethical and religious outlook of Mark is almost entirely overcast by the thought of martyrdom; it lacks the ascetic element found in Matthew, and the full note of hope and glorious assurance that went with the transcendent eschatology of Q—heightened as it no doubt was by the experience of persecution; it lacks also the sunny 'humanism'—if the word may be ventured—which we detect in L, with its table-talk, its note of friendliness, its parables of

⁵⁵ *The Mind of Christ in Paul*, 1930.

human kindness and goodness. It is an austere Gospel—its Christ reminds us of the pensive and indeed severe faces that look down from the old Roman frescoes of the apostles;⁵⁶ not sad, yet unsmiling; not grim, yet not unaware of the desperate issues confronting the faithful in a hard and cruel world which counted their faith but a novel kind of folly; not cast down in defeat, yet firm in a conviction that even death itself may have to be endured, and that on the farther side of death, somehow in part through their own endurance of the struggle, Christ's final victory is assured. It is the Christ who inspired such determined faith and hope as this who is the Christ of the Marcan Gospel: and its ethic is the ethic of Jesus of Nazareth viewed from the vantage point of a martyr faith. It is this fact of its general character and purpose that must help to account for the meager emphasis upon Jesus' teaching which we find in Mark, quite as much as the fact (for it is a fact) that its author knew and presupposed some oral or written collection of Jesus' words.

There is much in the Gospel of St. Mark that cannot possibly come from St. Peter; the very form and structure of the work betray alike its author's motives and his use of various sources. Papias' statement—or the elder's—accordingly does not go far enough, though a valuable clue has been retained in this saying. As far as we can now make out, the following are the major sources or strands in Mark's Gospel, naming them in the order in which they may be isolated in a critical analysis of the Gospel:

(1) Most easily recognizable are the sections or single verses derived from Q⁵⁷—for the 'doublets' in Matthew

⁵⁶ E.g. Wendland, *Hell.-Röm. Kultur*,² Plate xiii. 3; Lietzmann, *Petrus und Paulus in Rom*,² Plates ix-x.

⁵⁷ On Mark's use of Q, see Streeter in *Oxford Synoptic Studies*, Essay v. Rawlinson also, in his Westminster Commentary, takes it for granted; see Introd., p. xxxviii ff. See also J. Weiss, *Das Älteste Evangelium*, pp. 372 ff.; Bacon, *Gospel of Mark*, ch. xiii.

and Luke are very clear signs of the presence of Q in Mark, and aid us in distinguishing the following passages:

- i. 2-8 John's appearance and preaching.
- i. 12-13 Jesus' temptation.
- iii. 22-27 The charge of collusion with Beelzebul.
- iii. 28-30 Blasphemy against the Holy Spirit.
- iv. 21-23 Light.
- iv. 24-25 'In the same measure . . .'
- iv. 30-32 Parable of the mustard seed.
- vi. 7-13 Mission of the twelve disciples.
- viii. 12 A sign refused.
- viii. 15 The leaven of the Pharisees.
- viii. 34-37 Renunciation.
- viii. 38 Confessing the Son of Man.
- ix. 35 'He that would be first . . .'
- ix. 37 Receiving a child.
- ix. 41 A cup of water.
- ix. 42 Causes of stumbling.
- ix. 43-48 Offending bodily members (?)
- ix. 50 Salt.
- x. 11 Divorce.
- x. 15 Receiving the Kingdom as a child (?)
- x. 28-31 Rewards of renunciation.
- xi. 23 Faith.
- xi. 24 Prayer.
- xi. 25 Forgiveness in prayer.
- xii. 38-40 Warning against the scribes.
- xiii. 9-13 The disciples to be persecuted.
- xiii. 31 Jesus' words infallible.
- xiii. 33-37 Parable of the watchful servants.
- xiv. 38 Watch and pray.⁶⁸

(73 verses, out of a total of 662 (Nestle's text), or 11% of the gospel.)

⁶⁸ Note the strong eschatological climax at the end of Mark's Q (as in Matthew's and Luke's)—the parables of the end, and the promise of the Parousia. Note also that the opening sections are the same.

Some sections, like the first two (i. 2-8, 12-13), are implied by the Matthean-Lucan contacts in their parallel sections, rather than by the existence of doublets. That is, the best explanation of the situation is to suppose that Mark is here echoing, if not abridging, the source Q which Matthew and Luke give at greater length.

Lack of space forbids me to attempt to justify at this point the inclusion of each verse or section listed above. On one section, however (vi. 7-13), I may refer to a paper, 'The Mission of the Disciples,' published in *Jour. Bib. Lit.* xxxv (1916), pp. 293-314.

Many of these passages are quoted in an abridged and even a garbled form—as if from memory, and that a rather poor one. On the other hand, they are marked by a style of their own, fairly distinct: e.g. the solemn *ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν* found in Mark *only in these sections taken from Q*, or in passages close at hand (iii. 28; viii. 12; ix. 1, 41; x. 15, 29; xi. 23; xii. 43; xiii. 30),⁵⁹ and in the Passion Narrative (thirteen times in all). This solemn formula of asseveration meets us again in Matthew (thirty-two times), where it is doubtless derived from Q as well as Mark, and in the Gospel of John (twenty-six times), where it has the peculiar form of the doubled 'Amen'—'Verily, verily, I say unto you.' Luke has the phrase only six times (three of these derived from Mark).

(2) Having isolated the Q-sections, we may without much difficulty proceed to isolate the editorial introductions, transitions, reflections, inferences, and summaries which Mark has added, and also the sections rewritten entirely in his own style. Though by no means exhausting the editorial material in the Gospel, the most obvious of these are:

i. 1, 9-11, 14-15, 21-22, 27-28, 32-34.

ii. 1-2, 10-12, 13-14, 19b-20.

iii. 6, 7-12, 20-21, 31.

iv. 1-2, 10-20, 33-34.

vi. 1, 14-16, 30-34, 53-56.

vii. 1-4, 14-23.

viii. 11, 13, 14, 16-21, 31.

ix. 1(?), 9-13(?), 30-32, 33-34, 36, 49.

x. 1, 10, 12, 32-34.

xi. 11, 19, 20-22.

xiii. 3-5.

xiv. 1-2, 10-11, 21, 26, 51-52.

(119 verses, or 17.9 per cent of the gospel.)

⁵⁹ Of the nine instances cited, three (ix. 1; xii. 43; xiii. 30) are not from Q but are found in close proximity to Q material. One is reminded of Matt. x. 23, which, if not derived from Q, is certainly found in a Q-context. It may be reasonable to assume that if these three passages are not from Q, they nevertheless lie in close enough proximity to material derived from that source to reflect its influence.

Most of these passages are clearly recognizable at once as editorial additions or compositions. Their style is that noted by Hawkins in *Horæ Synopticæ* and by other investigators—only, of course, in superlative degree.⁶⁰

(3) The next step is to examine the residuum—470 verses, or 71 per cent of the gospel. Of this, a fair number of sections may be attributed with some certainty—but much uncertainty!—to the Petrine element: I do not say to Peter's reminiscences, or to Peter's preaching, but to the Petrine 'element,'⁶¹ which will cover not only reminiscences but also material gathered together in the swiftly growing Petrine legend,⁶² following the holy martyr's death in 62 or 64.

⁶⁰ Hawkins, pp. 10ff. Of course it is of interest to us, at this point, to observe that Mark's own style is as clearly evident in these sections as anywhere else in the Gospel.

⁶¹ I do not know any other process for detecting and isolating the 'Petrine element' in Mark than simply to take the passages that remain, after we have isolated the Q-element and the editorial matter, and then inquire as to which of them contain references to Peter, or read like possible 'reminiscences' (or anecdotes told by Peter), or appear to fit the Petrine 'legend'—i.e. to be stories or incidents told of Peter after (or even before) his death: incidents, that is to say, in which Peter figures. It is noticeable that Peter does not figure in the Controversies (save the first, which arose out of Jesus' ministry of healing); and it is certainly unlikely that these were due to Peter's preaching in Rome—they bear the marks of a longer usage by the church than would thus be possible. More likely they represent the polemical teaching of the διδάσκαλοι in the early Roman church, which grew up in a Jewish environment, very largely. That there *was* such a tradition of controversy with Jews in Rome is evident as late as Justin, as Professor Filson has reminded me.

Within the 'Petrine element' it may be possible to distinguish material going back to Peter *himself*—e.g. the denials (as Rawlinson points out, p. xxix, 'When this Gospel was written, the character of St. Peter had been transfigured by martyrdom'). Here the criteria seem to be: (1) Peter's own self-derogation; (2) extraordinary vividness; (3) separation from the context; (4) a distinct point of view—though this latter is rarely traceable.

In other words, we pass a strong magnet over the residuum of gospel materials, and certain passages appear to respond to the attraction. There is no finality or absolute certainty about the process or its results. But we can scarcely escape the conviction that at any rate some of these selected passages are of Petrine origin, and justify the tradition of Mark's dependence upon Peter for a part of his material. One may, of course, easily dismiss this method as 'subjective,' or point out that Bacon, Rawlinson, Loisy, Weiss, and the other writers on Mark are in disagreement when it comes to the specific identification of Petrine passages. For all that, however, the conviction will not down that some of these passages go back to Peter.

⁶² The term 'legend,' of course, has a technical meaning in literary and historical criticism, and does not pre-judge the truth or untruth of the datum which forms its

Among such sections I venture to place the following, chiefly from the earlier half of the Gospel:

- i. 16-20. The call of four disciples.
- 23-26. In the synagogue at Capernaum.
- 29-31. Peter's wife's mother.
- 35-39. Jesus' departure at dawn.
- ii. 3-9. Healing the palsied.
- iv. 35-41. Rebuking the storm(?).
- v. 21-43. The daughter of Jairus and the woman with an issue of blood(?).
- viii. 27-30. Peter's confession of faith.
- 32-33. Peter's rebuke.
- ix. 2-8. The Transfiguration.
- 14-29. Healing the dumb child.
- xiv. 27-31. Prediction of the disciples' dispersal.
- 43-50. Judas' betrayal and the arrest(?).
- 66-72. Peter's denials.
- xvi. 1-8. The women at the tomb(?).

This is a total of only 111 verses out of the 470 still to be accounted for—barely 23.6 per cent; and only 16.7 per cent of the whole gospel. I do not presume to say that these figures are final, or that my identification of 'Petrine' pas-

nucleus. Many a chapter of sacred and of secular history alike could never be written if 'legend' were to be equated with 'fable' or 'myth.'

The stages in the development of the Petrine legend are easily traceable, the earlier of them lying within the period of the New Testament: (1) Marcan material derived from Peter; (2) other Petrine material found in Mark, some of it apocryphal, but certainly early; (3) the position assigned to Peter by the author of Acts, reflecting a tradition of Peter's leadership in the early Jerusalem and Palestinian church (confirmed in general by the Pauline epistles: Gal., I Cor., etc.), though the speeches ascribed to him are composed *en genre* by the author (note the absence of this material in the Gospel of Luke!); (4) the more fully developed Petrine legends in Matthew (especially in Matthew's special material); (5) the story of Peter's deliverance from prison by the angel (Acts xii); (6) the Commission to Peter in the Appendix to John (ch. xxi); (7) the Epistles of Peter—II Peter dating from c. 150 A. D.; (8) the Gospel of Peter, Apocalypse of Peter, Preaching of Peter, etc., in the N. T. Apocrypha; (9) the Clementina, containing second- and third-century material; (10) the fully developed Petrine claims and 'traditions' of the third-, fourth-, and fifth-century papacy.

It is to be noted that only certain strata or strands of N. T. literature have been affected by the legend—Luke and John (excl. ch. xxi), II Acts, the Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles (except I-II Pet.), Hebrews, and Revelation are practically untouched by it. Further, the literature affected by it seems to be related somehow to Antioch and to Rome: if tradition is correct, Peter himself was related to these two churches.

sages is beyond dispute. It is a minimum rather than a maximum assignment, and includes passages that may fairly certainly be assumed to rest on Peter's testimony. There may be other Petrine sections—possibly iii. 1-5, for example, or x. 17-22, or xiv. 12-16, 17-20. But it certainly appears that the 'Petrine' element in Mark is far less extensive than is commonly assumed, and much less than Papias' and the presbyter's words would lead anyone to assume.

(4) Having isolated these fairly certain sources, we are left with a residuum of material which seems quite unlikely to have come from any one source, but was probably supplied by the common Christian tradition, by local and personal tradition, and by legend.

A large proportion—three whole chapters (xiv-xvi), minus the 'Petrine,' Q, and editorial passages already noted—comes from the Passion Narrative, as common and current, no doubt, in the Roman church in the sixties as anywhere else in the Mediterranean world.

The 'Little Apocalypse' (xiii. 6-8, 14-20, 24-27) accounts for three more sections—14 verses in all. This material was perhaps non-Christian Jewish in ultimate origin.

The remainder contains material of most diverse character—and probably of diverse origin: some of it plainly legendary, as the healing of the leper (i. 40-45), the Gerasene demoniac (v. 1-20), the death of John the Baptizer (vi. 17-29), the feeding of the five thousand (vi. 35-44), the walking on the sea (vi. 45-52), and the cursing of the fig tree (xi. 12-14). Some of these sections represent variant accounts of the same event—e.g. the block from vii. 24 to viii. 10, the Syro-Phœnician woman, the deaf man in Decapolis, and the feeding of the four thousand. On the other hand, some of the remaining sections are much less legendary in character—e.g. the blessing of the children (x. 13-16), and the incident of the rich young man (x. 17-22)

that immediately follows it—both incorporated in the section on discipleship.⁶³

Among questions that are certain to be asked are these: Have we any evidence of an *Urmarcus*—a primitive form of the Gospel of Mark different from the one we now have? Are there any traces of a growth of the Gospel through successive revisions? Was there a 'Proto-Mark,' related to the Gospel of Mark as Streeter's 'Proto-Luke' is to the Gospel of Luke? Granted that the Passion Narrative came first, can we trace the next stage—and if so, which was added next, the Petrine element, or the Controversies? To all such questions the answer must be in the negative. Wendling's now famous theory of a growth of Mark through successive stages has not commended itself to modern scholars generally; though the additions noted by J. Weiss and others, amounting to a verse or two and a few phrases here and there, may suffice, in the estimation of some scholars, to justify the term 'second edition.' Even so, the majority of these 'additions' appear to be in Mark's own style, and not in that of a later hand.

One inclines to think, perhaps, that this designation only reflects the ease with which 'new editions' of modern works are produced. Instead of a growth of the book itself through successive stages—an assumption contradicted by the obvious unity of the work—it appears more probable that the development took place in the sources prior to Mark's use of them. After incorporation in the gospel they underwent no further elaboration or modification. Up to the date of the actual writing of the book, then, there was ample room for modification and development; and, if conjecture be admitted where certainty is impossible, the largest amount of devel-

⁶³ The 'controversy' sections have been made up, for the most part (see Note D, *ad fin.*), of the 'special' (i.e. non-Petrine, non-Q) material, plus Mark's editing, with the appropriate insertion of a few Q-verses here and there.

opment will probably be assigned to the Controversies and the Little Apocalypse; the next largest, to the Petrine element; the least, to the Passion Narrative. The remainder, especially the legends of the death of John the Baptist and the Gerasene demoniac, have passed through a course of oral repetition which may be long or short, but which it is probably hopeless to attempt to trace at the present time. What lies back of the Little Apocalypse is hard to make out, with our present knowledge; though who can deny that we may some day come upon still further survivals of Jewish apocalyptic literature which may possibly throw real light upon its origin, date, and external circumstances? But the Controversies seem to be so clearly arranged that it is only a step further to assume that they already existed in stereotyped form when Mark took them over for use in his writing. That they existed in written form seems impossible of proof—the Marcan style is as clear in these sections as anywhere else in the book—though their orderly arrangement points in this direction. But as stereotyped oral material it is not an unreasonable guess that they represented commonplaces of Christian-Jewish controversy, and were derived either from the ‘preaching’ (*kerygma*) of the early Roman church, or from its ‘teaching’ (*didascalia*) addressed to converts and designed to strengthen them in their new faith, answer their questions, and solve some of their difficulties.

To sum up the hypothesis briefly, then, the order of the ‘development’ of the Gospel *in its author’s own mind* was perhaps as follows:

1. The Passion Narrative—its basis derived from the common Christian tradition of Jesus’ last days in Jerusalem.
2. To this were prefaced the Controversies with the Jewish authorities, leading up to the Passion Narrative, and explaining why Jesus came to be rejected by his own people.

3. The Petrine element was introduced into this combination, chiefly at the beginning of the narrative—adding much of the ‘vividness’ for which Mark is famous.

4. In order to give examples of Jesus’ teaching, certain passages from Q—or from the common *oral* tradition of the collection of Jesus’ sayings designated by that symbol—were added, chiefly sayings relating to discipleship (a subject of great importance in Q), and added, apparently, from memory rather than by citation of a document.

5. The Little Apocalypse was added for a similar reason; it satisfied in some degree the urgent demand for Jesus’ own answer to the question of the date of the Parousia and the ‘signs of the end.’ (It was of course assumed by Mark to contain authentic teaching of Jesus.)

6. Finally, the mass of current oral tradition (not so extensive in Rome, probably, as in Palestine and Syria) was drawn upon for additional material upon numerous points as the narrative proceeded.

7. The whole took shape—a more or less predetermined form, considering that the Passion Narrative, the Controversies, and the Little Apocalypse were probably already in fixed oral if not partly documentary form—it took shape in the author’s own mind in something like the order just sketched, and in the actual writing of it the author supplied the introductions, summaries, transitions, and moralizing applications so characteristic of his work: the last-named so unlike the style and method of our Lord!

Thus grew the Marcan Gospel, not, I think, by successive stages, but in its author’s own conception before he sat down and wrote it out at length, laboriously and painstakingly: its growth is the growth of its materials and sources, not the repeated redaction either of the author himself or of a succession of later ‘hands.’ No writing in the New Testament bears more clearly the marks of unity of authorship, from

its brief title and swiftly moving first sentences to its abrupt and perhaps fragmentary close.

Such is the light which a study of the form and structure of St. Mark throws upon its purposes, its method of composition, its materials, and its sources. If it no longer betrays 'the freshness and vividness of original composition,'⁶⁴ at least it bears the marks of the hard age in which it arose, reflects the circumscribed outlook of its author and first readers, and reveals most clearly the paucity of the materials at the author's disposal (especially for a presentation of Jesus' teaching). We are a whole generation, and more, removed from the events described in its pages, and many leagues removed geographically. Its author lives in another world than the Palestine of Jesus' days—one can scarcely believe that he ever saw Palestine, or knew Judaism and its sacred Scriptures intimately and sympathetically. He may, of course, have known John Mark, as well as Peter; he may, indeed, have been John Mark;⁶⁵ but I should feel much more certain in describing him as a Roman Christian—though possibly not born in Rome—who reflected at an early day the somewhat cold and unimaginative outlook characteristic

⁶⁴ Though this is still true of certain sections—especially the Petrine—which no doubt have been responsible for the popular attribution of this feature to the Gospel as a whole.—Professor Burkitt holds that 'Mark' was an eyewitness of the events of the Passion: *Christianity in the Light of Modern Knowledge*, 1929, p. 209. But how much of this inference rests, I wonder, upon the uncertain identification of the author of the Gospel with the youth in the Garden of Gethsemane (xiv. 51–52)?

⁶⁵ That is, 'our' John Mark, known from Acts, etc. The reference in I Peter v. 13 is precisely the kind of touch that would be added by the author of an apocryphal Epistle; moreover, we do not know where 'Babylon' was—it may even have been Jerusalem, as Dean Carrington interprets the 'Babylon' of Apoc. Jn.; so that this does not help us any. Further, the title of our gospel, *κατὰ Μάρκον*, does not date earlier than the second century—though, as Streeter says, a nonapostolic attribution is strong evidence for its authenticity (*The Four Gospels*, p. 561).

However, *Marcus* was probably the commonest of Roman names. And one is reminded of the tendency to unite all 'Johns' in the N. T. into one, viz. the Apostle—the author of the Apocalypse of John, of the Epistles, of the Fourth Gospel, and the disciple John in the Synoptics—though Jochanan was probably as common in Jewish Christian circles as Marcus was in Rome. The same tendency has operated with the name Mary.

of at least a major strain in the heritage of that ancient church.⁶⁶ Yet such as it is—and the more certainly so, the more clearly we recognize just what the book is—it remains an extremely valuable document of primitive western Christianity; though it by no means provides us with all we wish to know about the life and teaching of our Lord, or the life and teaching, activities, and beliefs, of the early church.

NOTE C

THE STRUCTURE OF MARK

- i. 1 Title.
 - i. 2-15 Introduction.
 - i. 16-39 Capernaum (including healings).
 - i. 40-45 Healing a leper.
 - ii. 1-12 Healing the palsied.
 - ii. 13-17 Call of Levi and eating with sinners.
 - ii. 18-22 Fasting.
 - ii. 23-iii. 5 Sabbath observance.
 - iii. 6 Antagonism of the Pharisees and Herodians.
 - iii. 7-12 Summary of public ministry of exorcism.
 - iii. 13-19 Appointment of the Twelve.
 - iii. 20-21, 31-35 Jesus' true relatives.
 - iii. 22-30 'By Beelzebub.'
- } (1) The controversy over healing.
 } (2) The controversy over eating with sinners.
 } (3) The controversy over fasting.
 } (4) The controversy over the Sabbath.
 } The true leaders in the church.
 } (Against the Davidic claims of [or on behalf of] the family of Jesus, c. 40-60 A.D.?).
 } (5) The controversy over the source of Jesus' 'power.'
- [Inserted into the section above, in order to show the character of Jesus' activity, resembling possession?]

⁶⁶ This was perhaps one more reason for the neglect of Mark later on. It was not solely because of its brevity, compared with Matthew or Luke.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| iv. 1-34 Teaching by parables. | } | Illustrating Jesus' teaching. |
| | | [Compare Luke's and Matthew's <i>Sermons</i> .] |
| iv. 35-41 Rebuking the storm. | } | Illustrating Jesus' 'power.' |
| v. 1-20 The Gerasene demoniac. | | |
| v. 21-43 The daughter of Jairus and the woman with an issue of blood. | | |
| vi. 1-6 The visit to Nazareth, and rejection. | | |
| vi. 7-13 The mission of the Twelve. | } | The <i>results</i> of Jesus' preaching (and of John's), i.e. the general situation about the middle(?) of Jesus' ministry. Note the sequence of ideas, one suggesting another. |
| vi. 14-16 Herod's opinion of Jesus. | | |
| vi. 17-29 Death of John the Baptist. | | |
| vi. 30-34 Withdrawal into retirement. | | |
| vi. 35-44 Feeding the five thousand. | } | Illustrating Jesus' 'power.' |
| vi. 45-52 Walking on the sea. | | |
| vi. 53-56 Gathering of the multitude for healing [a general impression: cf. iii. 7ff.]. | | |
| vii. 1-23 Hand-washing, and Jesus' rejection of the external law. | } | (6) The controversy over the externals of the Law. |
| | | |
| [Mark's 'Great Insertion' (vii. 24-viii. 26): it appropriately follows vii. 1-23 (Jesus rejects the external law, and then turns to the Gentiles; cf. St. Paul's procedure).] | | |
| vii. 24-30 The Syro-Phœnician woman. | } | (7) The controversy over signs. |
| vii. 31-37 The deaf man in Decapolis. | | |
| viii. 1-10 Feeding of the four thousand. | | |
| viii. 11-13 Pharisees demand a sign. | | |
| viii. 14-21 Leaven of the Pharisees and Herod. | | |
| viii. 22-26 The blind man of Bethsaida. | | |

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- viii. 27-30 Peter's confession of faith.
 - viii. 31-33 The *first* Passion Announcement.
 - viii. 34-37 On self-denial.
 - viii. 38 Confessing the Son of Man.
 - ix. 1 Immediacy of the Kingdom.
- } [Grouping due to Mark(?)]
- ix. 2-8 The transfiguration.
 - ix. 9-10 The command of silence.
-
- ix. 11-13 The coming of Elijah.
- } (8) The controversy over
Elijah.
[Related to a controversy
over the Baptist?]
-
- ix. 14-29 Healing the dumb child.
 - ix. 30-32 The *second* Passion Announcement.
 - ix. 33-35 The greatest disciple.
- [Sayings:]
- 36-37 Receiving a little child
[=Q, garbled].
 - 38-40 The strange exorcist.
 - 41 The cup of water.
 - 42 Stumbling.
 - 43-48 Offending members.
 - 49 'Salted with fire.'
 - 50 Lost savor.
- } A section on Discipleship.
-
- x. 1 The journey to Judea.
 - x. 2-9 The law of marriage.
 - x. 10-11 The prohibition of divorce.
 - 12 An editorial addition.
- } (9) The controversy over
divorce.
-
- x. 13-14, 16 Blessing the children.
 - x. 15 Receiving the Kingdom as a
child.
 - x. 17-22 The rich young man.
 - x. 23-27 The difficulty of riches.
 - x. 28-31 The rewards of renuncia-
tion.
- } Another section on Dis-
cipleship.
-
- x. 32-34 The *third* Passion Announcement.
 - x. 35-40 The request of James and
John.
 - x. 41-45 The glory of service.
- } Discipleship.
-
- x. 46-52 Bartimæus.

- xi. 1-10 The triumphal entry.
- xi. 11 Entry into the temple.
- xi. 12-14 Cursing the fig tree.
- xi. 15-18 Cleansing the temple. } (Another subject of controversy?)
- xi. 19. Evenings spent outside city.
- xi. 20-22 The lesson of the fig tree. }
- xi. 23 The power of faith. } Teaching on Prayer.
- xi. 24 The power of prayer. }
- xi. 25 Forgiveness in prayer. }
- xi. 27-33 The question of authority. }
- xii. 1-12 The Parable of the Vineyard. } (10) The controversy over authority.
- xii. 13-17 The question of the tribute money. } (11) The controversy over relation to the State.
- xii. 18-25 Marriage and the resurrection. }
- xii. 26-27 The proof of the resurrection. } (12) The controversy over the resurrection.
- xii. 28-34 The question of the chief commandment. } (13) The controversy over the interpretation of the Law.
- xii. 35-37 The Messiah not Son of David. } An early Christian problem; also a subject of Jewish-Christian controversy?
- xii. 38-40 A warning against scribes [added as a summary of the controversy sections?].
- xii. 41-44 The widow's mite [suggested by the mention of widows in verse 40].
- xiii. The Little Apocalypse (vv. 6-8; 14-20; 24-27). } The end of the age, and events to precede the end.
- xiv-xvi. The Passion Narrative.

NOTE D

THE SOURCES OF MARK

r=redacted—i.e. bearing sufficiently clear traces of Marcan style to be so designated, as rewritten by Mark.

?=uncertain.

	From Q	Marcan or editorial	Petrine	Other*
i. 1 Title.....		Mk.		
2-8 John's preaching.....	Q			
9-11 Jesus' baptism and call.....		Mk.		
12-13 The temptation.....	Q			
14-15 Beginning of ministry in Galilee...		Mk.		
16-20 Call of four disciples.....			Pt.	
21-22 Teaching on Sabbath day.....		Mk.		
23-26 In the synagogue at Capernaum...			Pt.	
27-28 Effect of preaching.....		Mk.		
29-31 Peter's wife's mother.....			Pt.	
32-34 Healings at eventide.....		Mk.		
35-39 Jesus' departure at dawn.....			Pt.	
40-45 Healing a leper.....				Spl ^r

* Various more or less unidentifiable sources, including the Controversies (C) and the pre-Markan Little Apocalypse (LA). It is possible now and then to hazard a guess as to the ultimate origin of this material, as Petrine, etc.

'Spl' designates material of a narrative-traditional type, lacking definite marks of Petrine origin, and apparently handed down by a longer and more circuitous oral route—a type labeled 'Nouvelle' by Dibelius (pp. 36ff.) and 'secondary' or 'legendary' by Bultmann (e.g., pp. 290ff.). The Passion Narrative, which is considerably 'older' than Mark (i.e., has gone through a long process of formulation prior to Mark), contains much material of this sort. This is the less surprising when it is considered how widespread was the tradition during the earliest period, when written documents were less available than later. Notes of the Roman provenance of the particular form of the Passion Narrative used by Mark may be seen in the introduction of Pilate without qualification in xv. 1 (contrast Mt. and Lk.), *praetorium* in xv. 16, the unqualified mention of Alexander and Rufus in xv. 21, the centurion's testimony in xv. 29, etc. Some of this material bears clear enough traces of Marcan style to be designated as redacted.

	From Q	Marcian or editorial	Petrine	Other	
ii. 1-2 Return to Capernaum		Mk.	Pt.		
3-9 Authority to forgive sins		Mk.			
10-12 Healing the palsied		Mk.			
13-14 Call of Levi		Mk.		C	
15-17 Eating with sinners					
18-19a The question of fasting		Mk.		C	
19b-20 Reflections on bridegroom				C	
21-22 Patches and new wine				C	
23-28 Question of Sabbath observance (eating grain)				C	
iii. 1-5 Healing a withered hand on the Sabbath				C	
6 Antagonism of the Pharisees and Herodians		Mk.			
7-12 Summary of public ministry of exorcism		Mk.			
13-19 Appointment of apostles		Mk.		Spl	
20-21 Concern of Jesus' friends					
22-27 The scribes' charge: 'By Beelzebub'	Q ^r				
28-30 Sin against the Holy Spirit	Q				
31 Jesus' mother and brethren arrive		Mk.			
32-35 Jesus' true relatives				?	
iv. 1-2 Teaching in parables		Mk.			
3-9 Parable of the Sower				?	
10-20 Theory of the parables, and expl. of the Parable of the Sower		Mk.			
21-25 Parable of Lamp, etc.	Q				
26-29 Parable of Self-grown Seed				?	
30-32 Parable of Mustard-seed	Q				
33-34 Summary of parables and concl.		Mk.			

	From Q	Marcian or editorial	Petrine	Other
35-41 Rebuking the storm			Pt.?	
v. 1-20 The Gerasene demoniac				??
21-43 The daughter of Jairus, and the woman with an issue			(Pt.?)	
vi. 1 Visit to Nazareth		Mk.		
2-6 Rejection at Nazareth				Spl ^r
7-13 Mission of the Twelve	Q	Mk.		
14-16 Herod's opinion of Jesus		Mk.		??
17-29 Death of John the Baptizer		Mk.		
30-34 Withdrawal into retirement				
35-44 Feeding the five thousand				?
45-52 Walking on the sea				?
53-56 Gathering of the multitude for healing		Mk.		
vii. 1-4 Int. to the charge concerning hand-washing		Mk.		
5-13 Jesus' reply, and rejection of the Pharisaic tradition				C
14-23 His rejection of the law concerning defilement		Mk.		
24-30 The Syro-Phœnician woman				??
31-37 Healing a deaf man in Decapolis				?
viii. 1-10 Feeding the four thousand				??
11-13 Pharisees demand a sign	Q ^r	Mk.		
(11 and 13 are editorial)		Mk.		
14-21 Leaven of Pharisees and Herod	Q?			
(15 the saying itself)				
22-26 The blind man of Bethsaida				?
27-30 Peter's confession of faith			Pt.?	
31 First Passion Announcement		Mk.		
32-33 Peter's rebuke			Pt.	
34-37 On self-denial	Q?			
38 Confession of the Son of Man	Q			
ix. 1 Immediacy of the Kingdom		Mk.?		

	From Q	Marcian or editorial	Petrine	Other
2-8 The Transfiguration			Pt.	
9-10 The command of silence		Mk.		
11-13 The coming of Elijah		Mk.?		(C)
14-29 Healing a dumb child			Pt.	
30-32 Second Passion Announcement		Mk.		
33-37 The greatest disciple		Mk.		
(35 and 37 Sayings)	Q?			
38-40 The strange exorcist			??	
41 The cup of water	Q			
42 Stumbling	Q			
43-48 Offending members	Q?			
49 Salted with fire		Mk.		
50 The lost savor	Qr			
x. 1 The journey to Judea		Mk.		
2-9 The law of marriage				C
11 Prohibition of divorce	Q			
10 and 12 Editorial additions		Mk.		
13-16 Blessing the children				?
(15 Receiving the Kingdom as a child)	Q?			
17-22 The rich young man				?
23-27 Difficulty of riches				?
28-31 Rewards of renunciation	Qr			
32-34 Third Passion Announcement		Mk.		
35-40 Request of James and John				?
41-45 The glory of service				?r
46-52 Bartimæus				?r
xi. 1-10 The triumphal entry				?
11 Entry into the Temple		Mk.		
12-14 Cursing the fig tree				?
15-18 Cleansing the Temple				?
19 Evenings outside the city		Mk.		
20-22 Lesson of the fig tree		Mk.		
23 The power of faith	Qr			
24 The power of prayer	Qr			
25 Forgiveness in prayer	Qr			

	From Q	Marcan or editorial	Petrine	Other
27-33 The question of authority				C
xii. 1-12 The Parable of the Vineyard				Cr
13-17 The question of tribute money				Cr
18-25 Marriage and the Resurrection				Cr
26-27 The proof of the Resurrection				C
28-34 The question of the chief commandment				C
35-37 The Messiah not Son of David				Cr
38-40 Warning against the scribes	(Q?)			C
41-44 The widow's mite				C
xiii. 1-2 The impending doom of the Temple				C
3-4(5) Int. to the Little Apocalypse (or to Mk's expansion of it)		Mk.?		
6-8 Coming wars				LA
9-13 Trials awaiting disciples	Q			
14-20 The abomination of desolation				LA
21-23 The appearance of false Christs				?
24-27 The coming of the Son of Man				LA
28-30 The fig tree's parable				?
31 Certainty of Jesus' words	(Q?)			
32 Uncertainty of the day and hour				?
33-37 The duty of watchfulness	(Qr?)			
xiv. 1-2 Int. to the Passion Narrative		Mk.		
3-9 The woman with ointment				Splr
10-11 Judas' treachery		Mk.		
12-16 Preparation for the Passover				?
17-20 Prediction of betrayal				?
21 Fate of the betrayer		Mk.		
22-24 The Bread and the Cup				?
25 The wine of the Kingdom				?
26 Departure for the Mount of Olives		Mk.		
27-31 Prediction of disciples' dispersal			Pt.	
32-42 The agony in Gethsemane				?
(38 Watch and pray)	(Q?)			
43-50 Judas' betrayal and the arrest			Pt. ^r	
51-52 Flight of a young man		Mk.		
53-65 Before the high priest				?
66-72 Peter's denials			Pt.	

	From Q	Marcan or editorial	Petrine	Other
xv. 1-15 The trial before Pilate.....				?
16-20 Mockery of the soldiers.....				?
21-41 The crucifixion.....				Spl ^r
42-47 The temporary entombment.....				Spl ^r
xvi. 1-8 The women at the tomb.....			(Pt.?)	
9-20 A non-Markan appendix, derived from the four Gospels (c. 100-150?).				

Without claiming either finality in the results or infallibility in the method displayed above, it is interesting to note how the Controversy-sections appear to be built up for the most part out of independent material, though in a few cases this is supplemented by the insertion of relevant material from other sources.

1. Healing—chiefly Petrine and Marcan material.
2. Eating with sinners—Marcan and special (or unassigned).
3. Fasting—the same.
4. The Sabbath—chiefly special.
(*The true leaders of the church?*—special.)
5. The source of Jesus' 'power'—Q.
6. The externals of the Law—special and Marcan.
7. Signs—chiefly special, plus two Q-verses.
8. Elijah the Forerunner—Marcan.
9. Divorce—special, Marcan, and one Q-verse.
(*Cleansing the Temple?*—special.)
10. Authority—special.
11. Relation to the State—special.
12. The Resurrection—special.
13. Interpretation of the Law—special.

By 'Marcan' material is meant that which is more completely *rewritten* (in the style of the summaries, editorial additions, and transitions) than the sections marked 'special' or left unassigned or questioned. The surprising thing is

how *little* of the Petrine or other assignable material went into the Controversies. The 'Petrine' material provides the introductory setting to the first controversy; after that it does not appear in these sections. And there are only three insertions from Q. In brief, the controversy sections really justify the designation of the material given arbitrarily and for convenience' sake above, as 'special.' They come from a distinct source, to which certain additions and insertions have been made by the author.

Moreover, there is apparent a certain amount of correspondence between the sources used and the 'block' arrangement observable in the structure of Mark—a phenomenon that does not in the least surprise us, as it is precisely what we should antecedently expect.

Thus the 'Petrine' material is grouped chiefly in the opening chapter, centering about the day in Capernaum, in chapters eight and nine (Peter's Confession and the Transfiguration), and in the Passion Narrative.

Series of Q-sections or verses appear in chapters i (introductory), iii (the scribes' charge), iv (parables), viii (the Pharisees), ix-x (discipleship), xi (faith and prayer), xiii (the Little Apocalypse). Mark's use of Q in chh. viii-ix reminds one of Luke's use of Q and L in the body of his gospel.

Similarly, blocks of 'special' material are found in chh. ii (Controversies), vi-viii (incidents of the Galilean ministry, with their parallels in Mark's 'Great Insertion'), x (marriage, children, riches, apostleship), xi (entry into Jerusalem), xii (Controversies), xiii (the Little Apocalypse), xiv-xv (incidents in the Passion Narrative). Removing the 'Controversy' blocks in chh. ii and xii, the Little Apocalypse material in ch. xiii, and the Passion Narrative (xiv-xv) which was common tradition, for the most part, in the church where the gospel was written, it is clear that some of the re-

maining material probably existed in 'blocks,' even if unwritten and still in oral form.

Other small groups or blocks of related material are to be found in viii. 34-ix. 1, where the grouping may be due to the author, and in xi. 20-25 (teaching on prayer), where the three sayings (vv. 23-25) may more probably have formed a block in the source used by Mark—either a revised form of Q or the current oral teaching of the Roman church.

It is noticeable also that Mark follows each Passion Announcement with a group of sayings on discipleship (viii. 34-ix. 1, the duty of confessing the Son of Man; ix. 33-50, various sayings, and x. 13-31, renunciation; x. 35-45, sacrifice)—so obvious to Mark was the lesson for the church of Jesus' self-chosen way of Renunciation and Death.

VI

LUKE THE HISTORIAN

IT is a cause for genuine regret that the classic work on Primitive Christianity by the late Professor Johannes Weiss, of Heidelberg, has not appeared in an English translation. The first half of the volume was published in Göttingen late in 1913. The author died in August, 1914, at the very beginning of the World War and before the second part of his work was ready for the press. The last three chapters were added by the author's friend Professor Rudolf Knopf, of Bonn, and the completed work appeared from the famous old press of Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht in 1917—in the very thick and press of the War. Small wonder that it was not translated in the dark years that followed! And yet it is one of the best treatises on the subject that has ever been written, and one that in normal times would undoubtedly have been translated almost at once. We could easily spare other works that have appeared in English garb of late, in exchange for a readable and accurate version of this noble work, crystal clear in its thought and expression, adequate in its grasp of the essential movements and outlooks of the early church, sympathetic in its attitude toward orthodox theology, keenly penetrating in its understanding of the shades and varieties of opinion reflected in the New Testament, balanced and judicious in its historical criticism, and really comprehensive in its view of early Christianity—i.e. of the primitive Christian Church—as a whole, a religion closely related to Judaism and to the surrounding Gentile world, but not lacking in unique powers and conceptions.

Professor Weiss' illuminating interpretation of the histor-

ical bearing of the New Testament documents is apparent in such a passage as the one in which he sums up his discussion of 'the oldest Gospel'—our St. Mark.

"The ecclesiastical-historical significance of the oldest Gospel," he says (p. 544), "consists chiefly in this, that it produced, once and for all, a picture of the earthly Jesus, with those vivid features which became the model of later writers and made so deep and ineradicable an impression upon the church. One may see in St. Mark the meaning the historical Jesus possessed for the Christian Mission. We have already observed that the missionary preaching could not forego a certain measure of detailed information about the life of Jesus—even St. Paul could not do without it altogether. Faith in the heavenly Lord always implied that it was he who had lived upon earth and had been crucified as Jesus of Nazareth. The Gospel of Mark now teaches us that the demand for a vital and clearly defined view of Jesus was much greater than has ordinarily been assumed. The newly converted were eager to learn more about him, of whom it was said that he was the Son of God; the churches required a vivid presentation, for purposes of worship and personal faith, of him who for their sakes had laid down his life. Moreover there was certainly not lacking a genuine historical interest; especially as the eyewitnesses of the life of Jesus died, one by one, the need became apparent for conserving the tradition they represented. The oldest gospel is the literary crystallization of this oral tradition—and also of certain pre-literary written sketches or outlines of the first generation of missionaries. Hence it is correctly understood and appraised only when, on the one hand, it is read as expressing the views and convictions of the evangelist, and on the other as a collection of older traditions which in part at least emerge out of an entirely different set of attitudes. Stated in terms of doctrinal history: it is dominated by the

Christology of the Pauline and Post-pauline generation,¹ but it contains material reflecting the conception of Jesus of the earliest Christian community. The Jesus of Mark is the Son of God, equipped with divine knowledge and might; but he is also the one-time Jewish teacher and prophet, with human feelings and limited knowledge and power—Deity and humanity interpenetrate each other in an inseparable unity in this picture. In effecting this, Mark set the tone, for all time to come, both for the popular view and for the theological conception of the earthly Jesus.”

He goes on to prove the statement that for St. Mark our Lord is specifically and unconditionally the Son of God—no longer in the adoptionist sense, that he ‘became’ Son of God at his exaltation, nor in the sense of the old ‘western’ reading of Luke iii. 22 (‘This day have I begotten thee’), since a symbolic or theocratic-political interpretation of the title lies far outside his horizon: ‘Son of God’ is *more* than ‘Messiah,’ as Weiss puts it. The sense in which Mark understands the title is that meant by the centurion at the cross (xv. 39), a wholly popular conception, of a being by nature related to God. Popular also is the characteristic trait, that he does not reflect upon the way in which Deity came to appear in human form. It is impossible to say whether he thinks of a divine preëxistence, of a descent from heaven, of an incarnation or divine birth—and the very fact that we cannot answer the question is most significant of all; the evangelist felt no conscious need for doctrinal or philosophical definition on this point. He is entirely satisfied

¹ The alleged ‘Paulinism’ of St. Mark has undoubtedly been greatly exaggerated, and rests on very weak grounds. As Professor Martin Werner shows in his *Einfluss paulinischer Theologie im Markusevangelium*, Giessen, 1923, the agreements of Mark with Paul do not go beyond the views common to primitive Christianity; moreover, the specifically ‘Pauline’ views and doctrines are either ignored by Mark, or else quite divergent ones are presented (op. c., p. 209). And he quotes with approval the words of Professor Wernle (*Synopt. Frage*, p. 200): ‘To understand Mark, one must forget all about “Paulinism.”’

to show that Jesus is proclaimed divine by the activity and the knowledge he displays and by the voices around him, divine, supernatural, and human. "His point of view is not even that of St. Paul, viz. that the Incarnate One foregoes the exercise of the divine power and the display of the divine glory ('*kenosis*')"; he stands much closer to St. John, who conceives the divine *doxa* as manifested even during Jesus' earthly life (i. 14; ii. 12)—of course not publicly, but to those whose eyes were opened—the disciples. Already, as in John, they compose the believing church" (p. 545).

The Jesus of St. Mark is the Jesus of the Gentile-Christian Mission; and the traits, human and divine, of St. Mark's Jesus are those that interested the Christians of his time. It is interesting to note the features that are omitted—taking the normal round of modern biographical 'interests' as our standard. In spite of the emphasis Mark laid upon the human features in his 'portrait' of Christ, there is nothing here in the way of a sketch of his 'personality'—either his physical characteristics or his manners, moods, and habits of life;² nothing of his early years, education, environment, calling, his first efforts as a teacher or prophet, his spiritual experiences and development. None of these things interested him, apparently—and none were recorded in the tradition he made use of. Our only knowledge of Jesus' inner life is derived indirectly, by inference from his words and acts. Of course this holds true of the Gospels generally; but it is especially noteworthy in Mark. The later writers, especially Luke, try to repair the lack—but not very successfully. Above all, the absence of a chronological scheme (save of the crudest kind) marks off the earliest Gospel as decidedly lacking in biographical interest. The reason for this absence of a chronological sequence we have already considered, viz.

² A point which Bultmann elaborates in his *Jesus* (Berlin, 1926, vol. i in the series, *Die Unsterblichen*), but which may easily be pressed too far.

Mark's arrangement of his material by subject, and the anecdotal absence of order in the available tradition. Yet how powerful must have been the impression created upon the minds of his readers—the 'submerged' and persecuted Roman Christians, and Gentile Christians generally throughout the Empire—as they read this story or heard it from the lips of 'teachers' or 'evangelists' or listened to the reading of it at the services of worship! Jesus, the friend of publicans and sinners—since the sick have need of a physician, not the well (ii. 17); Jesus, the forgiver of men's sins (ii. 15)—must not the heavenly Christ, soon to come as men's Judge, be the same as the earthly Jesus, mild, loving, ready to help? (for the stories proved not only his power but also his willingness to heal); Jesus, hated and despised, betrayed by his friend, deserted by his followers, and led out to death at the hands of his enemies, draining to its last bitter dregs the cup of suffering—yes, even abandoned, apparently, by God (xv. 34) . . . what must all this have meant to the persecuted Christians in Rome, hung up as living torches in Nero's gardens, or flung to the starving wild beasts in the arena?—to Christians who, escaping martyrdom, were nevertheless persecuted in many another way, and bowed down with the burden of life as it was forced upon the slaves and lower classes in that ancient world? One can readily see how precious a document it was, and how inevitably it set the standard for the later evangelists.

This point of view, elaborated with great clarity by Professor Weiss in this and in other writings on the Gospel from his pen,³ is one which commends itself increasingly at the present time to New Testament scholars. Not only is St. Matthew little more than a new edition of St. Mark, enlarged by the incorporation of other material (chiefly from

³ Notably in *Das Aelteste Evangelium*, 1903; *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, vol. i, 2d ed., 1907.

Q); not only has St. Luke wholly revamped his Gospel (which, as Streeter has shown, was originally made up of a combination of Q and L, together with other special matter⁴) in order to embrace Mark—introducing it chiefly in seven distinct sections;⁵ but even St. John, the last of our four, betrays influences derived from Mark, a point of view shared with—and to some extent even based upon—this earliest Gospel, and an aim (albeit on a wider scale) similar to that of the first evangelist, distinctly marking these two off, in some respects—e.g. in their attitude toward ‘the Jews’—from both Matthew and Luke. And although the authors of Luke, Matthew, and John each in his own way undertook to supply information omitted by Mark, none of them wholly abandoned the standard set by this earliest Gospel; while its *normative* influence, in theological outlook (if the term may be used of such a writing), in historical perspective, in the interpretation of Jesus’ teaching (e.g. the parables, where Mark is clearly wrong in his view of Jesus’ purpose), in the significance attached to his ‘mighty works,’ in the assignment of motives that led to his condemnation—in all these its normative influence is so far-reaching as to be practically universal. If we ask, as we have already asked, why we have Gospels, the answers must inevitably center about this one writing, this first of the group which set the tempo and gave the tone to the whole series of compositions. Every historical or literary consideration of the later Gospels must therefore begin with Mark. It is for this reason that we have endeavored to sum up at this point the significance of the earliest gospel. Though its influence was exerted in a different way upon each of the later evangelists, there is no question that it was profound and determinative. As a creative achievement, in the history of literature and in the

⁴ See chart on p. 66.

⁵ See Note E, below.

history of the Christian church, it is impossible to rate too highly this severely limited and incomplete and far from perfect writing of some Roman Christian, put together in the strenuous days of the later sixties—while Nero still sat on his blood-stained throne, and Antichrist was looked for, far and near.

Three outstanding works upon St. Luke have appeared during recent years, which every student of the gospels must make thoroughly his own: *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (1924; 2d ed., 1926; 4th impression, 1931), by Canon Burnett Hillman Streeter, of Oxford; *The Gospel According to St. Luke: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary* (1926), by Professor Burton Scott Easton, of the General Theological Seminary in New York; and *The Making of Luke-Acts* (1927), by Professor Henry J. Cadbury, of Bryn Mawr. Each of these works was preceded by preliminary studies—Canon Streeter's *Four Gospels*, for example, by an important article in the *Hibbert Journal* (October, 1921), in which he outlined his theory of the development of the Lucan gospel. It was this article that inspired Professor Vincent Taylor with the idea that led eventually to his important work, parallel to Streeter's but independent, and therefore the more strongly confirmatory—*Behind the Third Gospel: A Study of the Proto-Luke Hypothesis* (1926). Professor Easton's great work on St. Luke was preceded by a series of articles on the Lucan Passion Narrative, on the stylistic peculiarities of Luke's sources, and on other relevant topics. These articles appeared in the *American Journal of Theology*, the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, the *Anglican Theological Review*, and elsewhere. His more recent works, *The Gospel Before the Gospels* (1928), and *Christ in the Gospels* (1930), are important fresh studies in the Synoptic Tradition at various stages in its de-

velopment, chiefly the earliest and preliterate. Professor Cadbury's preliminary work was published not only in journals, but, chiefly, in the Harvard Theological Studies—a masterly examination of *The Style and Diction of Luke* (1920)—and in Foakes-Jackson's and Lake's *Beginnings of Christianity*, Volume ii, *Prolegomena to Acts* (1922), which contained essays by him.

Recent and contemporary work upon St. Luke is by no means limited to the volumes just named. But it is remarkable how much of present-day discussion of the Third Gospel either merely echoes the results of the researches of Cadbury, Easton, and Streeter, or else proves itself already out of date by failing to take cognizance of their results. Three great contributions have been made in these works, which may for convenience' sake be grouped together.

(1) The hypothesis is advanced that the bulk of Luke's special matter, usually designated 'L,' came from a really existent document or written source or collection of material. Easton and Streeter are absolutely sure of this; Cadbury is more hesitant. No one has done more than Easton, in the English-speaking world, to prove the independence and homogeneity of this source, characterized to a certain degree by a special vocabulary of its own, and clearly reflecting a definite circle of ideas, beliefs, and hopes.⁶ His book belongs on a level with that of the great German investigator in this field, Dr. Bernhard Weiss, to whom all later writers are in perpetual debt—even when, like Streeter, more or less unconsciously. It would be interesting to prove, if possible, that all of Luke's special material came from one single document, parallel to and on a par with Mark; but there are difficulties not yet overcome, and perhaps never to be overcome, in the way: chiefly the apparent integrity of

⁶ Cf. *Jour. Bib. Lit.* xxix. 139-180; xxx. 78-103; *The Gospel According to St. Luke*, Int., pp. xxiii-xxx.

the Lucan Infancy Narrative, on one hand, and also that of his Passion Narrative—used very differently in combination with Mark—on the other; likewise the form and order and apparent integrity of the main body of his second Teaching Source, ordinarily designated by 'L.' The source 'L' is perhaps, then, only one of (at least) three sources peculiar to Luke; not a 'gospel,' but another sayings source. But at least the certainty of the existence of a definite, homogeneous, written source—whatever its exact limits—is now, we may say, practically established. And this is the work, very largely, of Easton, Streeter, and Taylor—English-speaking opinion is vastly different on this subject from what it was even ten years ago; the change is directly attributable to their published researches.

(2) The most unique contribution made by Canon Streeter toward the solution of the problem of Gospel Origins is his elaboration of the 'Proto-Luke Hypothesis.' According to this hypothesis, Luke was not, like Matthew, a new edition of Mark, but was originally a very different kind of writing—without a trace anywhere in it of Mark's influence. This original Gospel of Luke, or, as Streeter calls it, 'Proto-Luke,' was made up of a combination of the two early evangelic sources Q and L. It began with the world-historical datum in iii. 1—a capital beginning for a gospel—and it concluded with the Resurrection Narrative derived either from L or, more probably, from another but related source. However, before publication, Luke—or the author of the Third Gospel⁷—came across a copy of Mark, and saw at once the desirability of enlarging his work to include this later narrative. *Our* Luke, accordingly, includes the bulk of our Mark, slightly revised, and inserted for the most part in long sections. Incidentally, it is an important feature of Streeter's

⁷ Though Streeter does not hesitate to identify the author as Luke (p. 218). Cadbury disagrees, and Easton (p. xxxv) is noncommittal.

formulation of the hypothesis that it was Luke himself, the author of our Third Gospel, who was also the primary author, the compiler of 'Q plus L.'

With most of Streeter's special hypothesis Easton is in entire disagreement; he prefers to view Luke i-ii as belonging to L, and not a later addition from some other source. "None of these contentions [of Streeter's] quite proves the point. All that Doctor Streeter has—most correctly—noted could be just as true if Luke studied his three sources carefully, laid them down side by side, and then proceeded to build up his gospel from all three simultaneously; his preference for Q or L instead of Mark might have a dozen different reasons."⁸ Cadbury remains wholly aloof, and in his important work on *The Making of Luke-Acts* barely alludes to the theory. More recently Bacon writes of it in terms of scarcely disguised hostility.⁹ It can hardly be denied that difficulties stand in the way of thoroughgoing acceptance of the hypothesis, and they make their first appearance no later than the third chapter of Luke, with which 'Proto-Luke' is supposed to begin. If Q plus L (equals Luke iii-xxiv minus the Marcan passages, approximately—if one desires a mathematical equation!) began with Luke iii. 1-2, how did it continue? What was the verb? ἐγένετο? But ἐγένετο is derived from Mark!—as is also the phrase 'in the wilderness,' at the end of the sentence. (Stylistic considerations deter us from supposing that the sentence ended, 'John, Zacharias' son.') The subject of John's preaching and the Old Testament quotation that follows are alike derived from Mark. The only alternative, for a rigorous 'Proto-Lukist,' is to assume that in these opening verses Mark itself echoes Q; so that Luke is not here quoting Mark, but Q—a hypothesis that has much to commend it,

⁸ See his review of Streeter in *Angl. Theol. Rev.*, viii. 256-263, esp. 262.

⁹ Cadbury, pp. 104-109; Bacon, *Studies in Matthew* (1930), pp. 505f.

and is all but inescapable when we come to Luke iii. 16 and parallels.

In an essay published in a recent number of the German *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* ('Die Ur-Lukas Hypothese'; cii. 3, October, 1930, pp. 332-340),¹⁰ Canon Streeter answers some of the criticisms that have been made of the Proto-Luke Hypothesis, and adduces further evidence in its favor. In particular he deals with the objection that the style and outlook of Mark betray a fresher and more vivid handling of the tradition than that of Luke's other sources, and that therefore the order of composition must have been Mark plus (Q plus L), not (Q plus L) plus Mark. The objection is tested by a number of instances, first of all the narrative of the calling of Simon (Luke v. 1-11), where Luke diverges radically from Mark and has a number of vivid touches not contained in Mark's brief account (i. 16-20). It can scarcely be otherwise than that we have here two more or less parallel accounts of the same incident; for it is certain that Luke has not rewritten Mark—the few and slight contacts with Mark's story are readily explained upon the principle that narrative details readily slip from one story to another in oral tradition (p. 333), not to mention the necessities of any story dealing with 'fishermen,' 'beside' the sea, handling 'nets,' with partners 'in a boat,' who are all called to follow Jesus, and 'leaving' all 'followed him.' Luke's effort to keep his sources separate and unmixed (contrast Matthew's regular procedure of conflating them!) is observable here as elsewhere (p. 336); and if he does not combine Mark and Q, as a rule, neither does he disintegrate Mark to provide vivid touches to add to his material taken from L. Much better is it, therefore, to suppose that the independent narrative in Luke v. 1-11 arose out of oral tradition, got written down in L, was com-

¹⁰ See also the new Preface to the fourth impression of his book (1930).

bined with Q, and thus made a part of his projected 'treatise' by Luke long before he laid eyes upon the Gospel of Mark. All this is possible, since the 'development' of a tradition is not a matter of length of time, but depends upon the number and mental outlook of those reporting and repeating it. Luke's account of Peter's call doubtless goes back to a narrative of a post-resurrection appearance of Jesus, a fragment belonging with the story in the Appendix to John (ch. xxi), where the words of Peter have much greater appropriateness, in view of Peter's denials at the time of the Lord's arrest; possibly, as Harnack thought, we even have here a vestige of the 'lost ending' of Mark and another fragment of the apocryphal Gospel of Peter! But, argues Streeter, this does not prove the narrative 'late' (pp. 334, 340); for Mark's contacts with Peter (granting for the moment the truth of this hypothesis) are certainly closer and more numerous than Luke's (or L's). "Hence Mark's narrative of an incident like the Call of Peter is certainly to be preferred to that of Luke, even supposing Luke had written down his account long before Mark made up his mind to write a Gospel. Narratives passing from mouth to mouth alter their form very rapidly. It is not length of time in itself that effects this change, but the number of intermediaries who have handed on the story. The superior value of the representation in Mark is not to be explained by the date at which he wrote—since he wrote more than thirty years after the events—but by the fact that much of his narrative came to him from persons who had 'first hand' knowledge of the events" (p. 340).

On such a fundamental question as the priority of Mark, and the weight to be given its acceptance as a fact, most scholars will continue to have their own views and the reasons for them. But there is little doubt that Streeter has brought home to the New Testament world generally the

importance of the admission of the existence and use of Q and L. As documents they did not exist *in a vacuum*. They were, like all of the later New Testament writings, 'church books' from the start. They were incomplete, perhaps, but scarcely 'formless'—Streeter also answers this charge, in the article named (p. 338f.), by pointing out that it was not customary among the Jews to write the lives of prophets and rabbis but only to treasure their sayings and parables, combined with certain incidents from their careers. 'Formless' would apply equally to the book of Jeremiah, the most autobiographical of the Old Testament prophets. "In a community of Jewish origin the presence of 'formless' collections of material is not surprising. The historian does not require to explain this, but, rather, the rise of a *formal* biography like that by Mark. . . . In the ancient church the biographical interest was subordinated to the didactic"—as we may clearly see from Matthew, where it explains his maltreatment of the Marcan order in the first half of the gospel.

(3) Cadbury's great contribution has been his study of the language, the style and diction of the author of Luke and Acts. This first appeared in the volume of the Harvard Theological Studies already referred to, and was set forth more 'popularly' and with further studies of the literary type, purpose, and process of writing the twofold work in his later *Making of Luke-Acts*. To some persons Cadbury's results will appear very largely negative. St. Luke is proved not to have been a physician, not to have used specifically 'medical' language—partly by a magnificent *tour de force* in which the satirist Lucian is shown to have used language equally 'medical.' Thus fades a legend which has enjoyed great popularity in recent times, both in pulpit and in study, since Hobart's presumed demonstration of 'the medical language of St. Luke' in his book with that title (1882), and especially after the great Harnack's indorsement of it in

1906.¹¹ For a long time this was looked upon as 'one of the assured results of criticism.'

Another negative result is the approximate demonstration that St. Luke is not the author of the 'we-sections' in Acts, nor is the author of the 'we-sections' the author of the volume as a whole,¹² nor (consequently) is St. Luke the author of Acts—and if not the author of Acts, then certainly not the author of the Gospel bearing his name! Cadbury is thoroughly at home in the literature of the late-classical or Hellenistic-Roman period; and he has by no means limited his contribution to the study of Luke and Acts to the iconoclastic demolition of certain conservative assumptions which even the 'higher critics' have shared hitherto. His book casts a flood of light upon the *milieu* and the motives of the Lucan writings. Their author was evidently a non-Jewish Hellenist, with a good education, wide interests, perhaps with political connections, and though dependent upon traditions (both written and oral) about St. Paul, was himself no 'Paulinist.' He was a very scrupulous collector of material and a fair editor of it, as both his volumes demonstrate. He spent some time preparing for his literary work, and his great ability as a writer, his balanced outlook, his sympathetic understanding of varied types of mind and of human life in general insured in advance the success of his effort. Who he was, whether an Antiochene, a Philippian, or a Roman, cannot be determined now; and Professor Cadbury declines the thankless task of defining the date and place of writing (p. 360). The author's purpose in Acts—to demonstrate Christianity to have been innocuous from the beginning—suggests a date when there was danger of persecution. Since this can scarcely be the time of Nero (some sections in Acts seem far too 'late' for such a date—e.g. the address to the

¹¹ *Luke the Physician*, App. i. See also W. M. Ramsay (same title; 1908), ch. i.

¹² Cf. Jülicher, *Einl.*, new ed., p. 440.

Ephesian elders, xx. 17-38, whose tone reminds us of the Pastoral Epistles; and the Gospel obviously presupposes the fall of Jerusalem, xxi. 20-24), there seems every reason to prefer the time of Domitian,¹³ when, as we read from other sources than the New Testament, persons in high estate were threatened with persecution. Nothing much can be made of Luke's alleged dependence upon Josephus—indeed, it requires but little more imagination to suppose that, contrariwise, Josephus was dependent upon Luke!¹⁴—However, Cadbury does not commit himself to this view, but holds that they are little more than interesting parallels, going back equally to common and popular report. "In matters of chronology, geography or contemporary government there would be available no public library, nor even a small collection of handbooks. . . . He had neither the facilities nor the desire to make the laborious calculations such as would verify synchronism or detect anachronism. I think he did not use the works of Josephus if he knew them, and the same may be said for the letters of Paul."¹⁵

It seems not unlikely that Luke's gospel was written—and probably 'published'—some years before the book of Acts. (1) It may, of course, be maintained that the author's purpose, expressed in the preface to the Gospel, embraced more than the writing of an account of the life and teaching of Jesus—nothing less than 'an account (διήγησις) of the course of events (πράγματα) which have taken place among us'; i.e. the whole development of the Christian movement up to the time of writing. Nevertheless, the viewpoint seems much later than that of the 'eyewitnesses and ministers of

¹³ See also the recent article by Professor Riddle, 'The Occasion of Luke-Acts,' in *Jour. of Rel.*, 1930, pp. 545-562; Jülicher, new ed., p. 430.

¹⁴ Which view, as Jülicher remarks (new ed., p. 430), 'wird wohl kein Mensch glauben.' He prefers to assume the dependence of both Luke and Josephus upon an earlier Herodian history (Acts v. 36f.; xi. 28; Josephus, Ant. xx. 5. 1).

¹⁵ *The Making of Luke-Acts*, p. 327.

the word' by whom the Christian message had been handed down; the content of their message seems to be embraced within 'what Jesus began to do and to teach' (Acts i. 1)—which is equivalent to the subject matter of the Gospel of Luke. (2) Again, the account of the Resurrection and Ascension is *corrected* in Acts i.¹⁶ If Acts had followed Luke at once, or had they appeared simultaneously, it would have been simpler and easier to correct the concluding sections of the Gospel. (3) Further, the adjective *πρῶτον* used in Acts i. 1 carries a sense of remoteness—one thinks of the opening line of Virgil,

. . . qui primus ab oris,

with its feeling for things long past, indeed, here the remotest possible time.¹⁷ The parallels adduced from Hellenistic historical writings do not forbid such an interpretation. (4) Finally, the motive of Acts seems to be more pronouncedly apologetic (in a political sense) than that of Luke. Again and again the apostles are charged with creating disturbance; repeatedly the charges break down and they are released. St. Paul even makes his way to Rome itself under the protection of an armed guard, and safe-conducted by his appeal to the emperor—Paul, 'the ringleader of this sect' (Acts xxiv. 5), who nevertheless 'might have been set free had he not appealed to Cæsar' (xxvi. 32). On the other hand, the clearest evidence (and aside from the question of the tribute about the only evidence) of the political harmlessness of Christians to be found in the Gospel is naturally in the account of the trial of Jesus. Neither Pilate nor Herod Antipas find him guilty—though the account of the trial before Pilate (Luke xxiii) represents the Jewish senate, high

¹⁶ Acts i. 3 ('forty days'); ct. Lk. xxiv. 1, 13 ('that very day'), 50f.

¹⁷ See Mackail's note, *The Æneid* (1930), p. 4. Professor Cadbury, however, argues for the closest possible connection of Luke and Acts: Luke i. 1-4 'is the real preface to Acts as well as to the Gospel, written by the author when he contemplated not merely one but both volumes' (*Beginnings of Christianity*, ii. 492).

priests, and scribes as preferring against him the strongest possible political charges ('stirring up our people, hindering the payment of tribute to Cæsar, and pretending to be himself a king'); the most serious of these Jesus apparently admits (vs. 3), and yet Pilate completely ignores the charges (vs. 4), and does his best to release the prisoner (vs. 20).¹⁸ There could scarcely be a more complete demonstration of the political harmlessness of Jesus and his followers!

Though we are dealing with probabilities, not certainties, it seems likely that the author of Luke gathered his material in Palestine and Syria early in the decade 70-80, if not before; then combined with it the major portion of Mark sometime in the seventies, and issued his gospel not later than 80 or 85 (his reference to the Fall of Jerusalem is still vivid). Later, perhaps ten or fifteen years later, he supplemented the gospel with a second treatise, which we know as Acts, designed to answer the questions of educated and perhaps highly placed Roman officials like Theophilus. Here also, as in the Gospel, the author leaves behind him a suggestion of the use of earlier sources, with which he has dealt with great faithfulness, and also evidence of a similar method—the incorporation of his material in a series of blocks.¹⁹ In fact, the existence of these 'blocks' of material is our best clue, in Acts as in Luke, to the presence of underlying sources. (It was this method of introducing the Marcan material that first suggested to Canon Streeter the inversion of the 'Marcan hypothesis' which his Proto-Luke theory represents.)

As for a third volume, to continue the narrative broken

¹⁸ Verse 3 is a Marcan insertion which disturbs the order of 'L' and makes the narrative of the trial as given in this source unintelligible.

¹⁹ See Note F, which outlines only the first clues one should follow in studying the sources of Acts; these suffice to show, however, the author's use of a literary method similar to that used in the Gospel—viz.: the incorporation of 'blocks' of material derived from various sources.

off at the end of Acts, there is no hint of this in either the gospel or Acts. Nor on a just view of the purpose of Luke-Acts is there any need for such a hypothesis. The arrival of Paul in Rome, his quiet residence there for two years 'in his own hired house'—whatever the later course of events—sufficiently proved that the Christian movement was not inimical to law and order and the public decorum that Romans rated so highly, even in the degenerate days of the Emperor Nero. Luke's purposes were achieved—historical, apologetic, religious, viz. to 'trace the course of all things accurately from the first'; to confirm the faith of new converts and inquirers, and provide a 'demonstration of the gospel'; to set Christianity in the right light relatively to the Roman government; and to bring to men still further knowledge of Christ. It is significant that these purposes are perceptible even in Proto-Luke. Luke iii. 1 would interest Theophilus—or readers of his class—at once; "In the fifteenth year of the hegemony of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate having charge of affairs in Judea, Herod being tetrarch of Galilee and his brother Philip tetrarch of Ituræa and the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias tetrarch of Abilene, under the high priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas, a 'word of God' [i.e. a prophetic call] came to John the son of Zacharias" An examination of the Q and L material in Luke will show how this interest on the part of his readers would be sustained by the contents of 'Proto-Luke' as a whole.²⁰

Whether or not the author of Luke-Acts as we have the work today was the Luke 'whose praise is in the gospel,' the companion of St. Paul, is a question not admitting a ready answer. The data are too scanty for a precise solution of the problem. Loisy thinks the work has been revised by a later editor; but he dates this redactor in the second century, and

²⁰ iii. 1, 18; iv. 5-8, 26; vii. 2-10; viii. 3; xiii. 32; xiv. 31, etc.

takes insufficient cognizance of the use of early sources. It may be thought that our Luke compiled the material of L, and combined it with Q to form Proto-Luke—a task which could easily have been accomplished by a companion of St. Paul; later on, Mark was added to Proto-Luke, and the book of Acts appended to the Gospel, by some later hand. But the major and really insuperable difficulty in the way of this hypothesis is the stylistic identity of the author of Luke (especially if we disregard the Marcan sections) with the author of Acts;²¹ and it would be easier, if a distinction were necessary, to assume that the author of Luke-Acts used material gathered at an earlier date by someone else. Though even so, a large part of the difficulty remains: for the style of Proto-Luke is the style of Luke-Acts as a whole.²² And it is not, of course, impossible that the same person accompanied St. Paul in the fifties; gathered his materials for the Gospel in the late fifties, in the sixties and seventies; wrote the gospel before 80; gathered the materials for Acts before 90, and ‘published’ the whole before 95. Suppose he was thirty years old or thereabouts in the year 55; by 95 he would be a septuagenarian, at the ripe peak of literary activity for a man who had used notebook and pen all his life. This may be no more than a possibility, but at least it is that.²³

To sum up. It appears to be an assured result of recent study of the Gospel of Luke that it is not a new edition of Mark, but an independent work, based upon earlier sources, with which has been incorporated the substance of the Gospel of Mark, and that in its process of growth it passed through the following stages:

²¹ Cf. Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*,³ pp. 15–25.

²² See footnote 7 above.

²³ Dibelius thinks that Luke is the only Gospel that bore its author's name from the first (*Gesch. Urch. Lit.*, i. 47).

(1) The beginning was the basic document Q, already recognized as underlying the gospels of Matthew and Luke. In its Lucan form it preserves its original order practically unaltered—for it was Luke's method to use his materials in 'blocks' or groups of sections, rather than weave them together and reorganize the whole under different subject-divisions.

(2) With this document has been combined the material drawn from 'L'—whether this was another document or only a cycle of oral traditions emanating from a particular locality or group may be questioned (with Cadbury), though the evidence appears to point toward a document. The combination of Q plus L, to which the name 'Proto-Luke' is given, was a real gospel (in the literary sense), and was provided with editorial introductions, transitions, and summaries designed to give unity, coherence, and consecutiveness to the various sections which originally stood in isolation and whose Q- (and L-?) grouping has been pried apart by the process of combining the two documents. Proto-Luke also included a pre-Markan Passion Narrative, related in language and point of view to L.

An examination of the reconstructed Proto-Luke published by Professor Taylor²⁴ will probably convince most readers that this was a real, if not wholly comprehensive, 'Gospel,' on a par with St. Mark, and often as a source to be preferred to Mark, though they sometimes confirm each other. As a 'gospel,' Proto-Luke gave a narrative of the 'sayings and doings' of Jesus, from his Messianic call and temptation on through the public ministry in Galilee—including the bulk of the teaching of our Lord now contained in the Synoptic Gospels—and concluding with the journey to Jerusalem, the final conflicts, the Last Supper, the arrest and trial, the cruci-

²⁴ S. P. C. K., 1927, 'Theology Reprints,' No. 1: *The First Draft of St. Luke's Gospel*.

fixion and Resurrection. In some particulars the narrative of Proto-Luke, especially in the Passion section, is markedly different from and preferable to both the Marcan-Matthean and later Johannine accounts—preferable even to the Gospel of Luke, which has not added greatly to the value of the narrative by the incorporation of the Marcan account of the last scenes.

(3) The next step was the addition of the Nativity and Infancy Narratives (Luke i-ii), though Easton and others assume that they were already present in L. Among the reasons for thinking these two chapters an addition to Proto-Luke are the following: (i) Thus we should explain the discordance between the account of the Annunciation and the question of the neighbors at Nazareth (Luke iv. 22—contrast the form of the question in Mark, where the difficulty is avoided). Doctor Taylor has suggested that the Virgin Birth Narrative was a last-minute addition to the Gospel;²⁵ but if Luke i-ii is an addition to Proto-Luke, the situation is still more easily comprehensible. (ii) The formal statement in iii. 1-2 reads like the beginning of a treatise, rather than a new chapter—as Streeter has pointed out.²⁶ (iii) The *content* of Luke i-ii, with its strongly marked Jewish atmosphere, its equally strong Jewish Christian Messianism of the 'Son of David' type, reads more like a body of tradition preserved locally and outside the current Palestinian church tradition of Q and L; indeed, it reminds us of other features in the family tradition of Jesus preserved in the Gospels and elsewhere,²⁷ in particular of the later emphasis upon their Davidic descent and blood relationship to the Lord. And in *form*, as a long, consecutive, finely wrought, artistic narrative, it is sharply distinguished from the brief anecdotes and

²⁵ *The Historical Evidence for the Virgin Birth* (1920), ch. iv.

²⁶ *The Four Gospels*, p. 209.

²⁷ See J. Weiss, *Urchristentum*, pp. 557-560, etc.; Jülicher, new ed., pp. 318, 320.

incidents preserved in L. Even the Passion Narrative is less consecutive, as made up of a series of brief sections. All this is compatible with the general identity in language and coloring of L and the Nativity Narratives, sufficiently at least to satisfy the requirements of Hawkins' and Easton's tabulations of the linguistic data.

(4) Finally came the process of incorporating the substance of Mark.²⁸ It is almost inevitable to assume that the author of Luke had no knowledge of Mark at the stage represented by Proto-Luke—fortunately, on our view, for he might then have been tempted to make his work only another edition of Mark, as Matthew has done; we should then have been in no position to recover with certainty the order and sequence of his other sources. As it is, the incorporation of Mark has disturbed the original sequence of his Gospel, and likewise its general point of view and 'theology,' though the author has done something to bring his Marcan material into conformity with the rest of the gospel.²⁹ The evidences of the disturbance remain in spite of his editorial efforts. One can readily imagine the mingled delight and dismay of an author who discovers, on the eve of the publication of his book, that another writer has treated the same subject, but with quite different effect, or that new evidence has appeared, new documents turned up, of importance for

²⁸ The answer to the question, Whether Luke has introduced Marcan material into Proto-Luke, or Q and L material into Mark, is fairly clear when one has worked through the Gospels by the method outlined above in ch. iii. I cannot believe that in the following passages, for example, the Marcan element is the kernel or structural basis: xi. 15-18; xiv. 34; xvii. 2, 31; xix. 45f.; xxii. 3-6, 18-19, 25f., 34; xxiii. 3, 26, 38, 44f. It seems almost obvious that Marcan material has been inserted into a Q plus L framework. Where the reverse seems probable, the Marcan material is itself based on Q, as in iii. 16, ix. 1-6. Such a section as iv. 16-30 (L), presupposing as it does Jesus' work in Capernaum (vs. 23), would never have been inserted into Mark (or Marcan material) ahead of Mk. i. 21-39; though the insertion of Mk. i. 21-39 *en bloc* into Q plus L, at a point following Lk. iv. 30, is not so difficult to explain. The story of the visit to Nazareth is left as a finely typical illustration of Jesus' synagogue preaching, introductory to his whole ministry in Galilee.

²⁹ The phenomena of Luke's treatment of Mark—his 'sparing the Twelve,' etc.—deserve to be restudied now in the light of Streeter's hypothesis.

a historical writing. He can either withhold his work until he has had time to examine the fresh material, or go ahead with publication and state in the preface his regret the work was 'already in type' when the new book appeared. But no such alternative lay before Luke. He could only—in accordance with ancient literary ethics and customary procedure—evaluate the new work, and, if it seemed authentic, incorporate it with his own. Something like this must have taken place when Luke came upon the Gospel of Mark, perhaps in Rome, more probably in the East, sometime in the seventies or early eighties.

So much for the stages of growth through which our Gospel of Luke has passed. In its final form, it not only justifies the verdict of Renan, 'the most beautiful book in the world'—which every critic quotes!—but it is also the most interesting, from a historical viewpoint, and the most valuable of our four. If we had to choose between them, there is little question which of the Gospels many would prefer to keep, and let the others pass into oblivion. The personality of its author is very real, as real to us as the authors of Mark and of Matthew, and far more real than John—whether or not we can still identify him with the 'Luke' named elsewhere in the New Testament and in early church tradition. He was obviously a Gentile, and a Gentile of warm feeling, wide interests, genuine historical taste and ability, and deep faith.⁸⁰ But it is not the personality of the author that makes his work supremely interesting and valuable. It is his intelligent use of good and reliable sources, and the authentic note of reality which characterizes his picture of Jesus and his account of the Master's life and teaching. If a final personal estimate may be hazarded, it is St. Luke who brings us closest, of all the gospel writers, to the Jesus of history who is also the Lord of the church's faith.

⁸⁰ Cf. Jülicher, *Einl.*, § 27. 4 (new ed., pp. 319ff.).

NOTE E

BLOCKS OF MATERIAL IN LUKE

From Mark	From Proto-Luke
	iii. 1—iv. 30
iv. 31—44	
	v. 1—11
v. 12—vi. 19	
	vi. 20—viii. 3
viii. 4—ix. 50	
	ix. 51—xviii. 14
xviii. 15—43	
	xix. 1—27
xix. 28—36	
	xix. 37—44
xix. 45—xxi. 33	
	xxi. 34—36
xxi. 37—xxii. 13	
	xxii. 14—xxiv. 53

Seven blocks of Marcan material are inserted into Q+L, breaking that document up into eight sections. Contrast the procedure of Matthew, who has *forty* alternating passages from Mark and Q, not counting the passages from other sources, interspersed with equal freedom into the combination.

Echoes of Q or Mark, as in iii. 21f. (see above, ch. iv, note A) and xxi. 18, are not noted here; nor are the details which Luke has taken from Mark and added to his Passion Narrative. What we are concerned to show is the main grouping of source material in the Gospel.

NOTE F

SUMMARY OF SECTIONS IN ACTS

i. 12—v. 42	} is chiefly Petrine material.....	
ix. 31—xi. 18		Jerusalem tradition (?)*
xii. 1—23		
vi. 1—viii. 1a	} is Stephen material.....	
		Jerusalem tradition of a 'Hellenistic' type
viii. 1b—40	—is Philip material..... Cæsarean tradition	
xi. 19—30	} is 'Barnabas and Saul' material.....	
xii. 24—xiv. 28		Antiochene tradition
xv. 1—xvi. 5		(and cf. iv. 36—37)
ix. 1—30	} is Pauline material.....	
Some of xii. 24—xiv. 28		
Some of xv. 1—xvi. 5		much of it first-hand**
All of xvi. 6—xxviii. 31		

* Or Antiochene? Streeter has made clear the very great prominence of Peter in the later traditions of Antioch, and it may not be improbable that he was prominent this early. See the Gospel of Matthew, as an illustration.

** Much of this material comes directly from the writer of the book of Acts, or from a source which he has made peculiarly his own by his thorough use of it: the author of the source apparently had ample opportunity for collecting and verifying information about St. Paul. Some sections are evidently based upon personal recollection of one who shared Paul's experiences—the so-called Diary or 'we-sections.' These passages obviously rest upon very exceptional testimony.

But this general observation does not validate everything in the Pauline tradition reflected in Acts; exceptions are to be noted in:

- (1) the conversion of the Philippian jailer (xvi. 25—31),
- (2) the address to the elders at Miletus? (xx. 18—35),
- and perhaps even
- (3) Paul's address at Athens (xvii. 22—32).

The same phenomenon may be observed here as in the life of Saint Peter: the legends of the martyrs grow suddenly and spontaneously, sometimes even before the deaths of the saints. As Professor Moore says (*Judaism*, i. 208), 'In a favorable environment the growth of legend may begin with the earliest reports of what happened.' Even in the New Testament we are treading Catholic soil, and the transition to the literature of the second and third centuries marks no sudden break. Even the *Acta Sanctorum* has its roots in the New Testament!

It is evident, even from a cursory examination of the structure of the Book of Acts, that its author has followed much the same 'block' arrangement of his source-material as he did in the Gospel.

VII

THE ECCLESIASTICAL GOSPEL: MATTHEW

CHRISTIAN tradition has for centuries recognized in St. Matthew 'the Jewish Gospel,' i.e. a gospel addressed to Jews, replete with Old Testament quotation and allusion, emphasizing Jesus' Messiahship and his fulfillment of the Law and Prophets, and designed to prove that 'this is very Christ.' The modern approach to Matthew is equally clear in this recognition, but it enjoys a greater wealth of information regarding the type of Judaism presupposed, the Christianized Judaism expressed, and the Jewish character of its sources. Professor B. W. Bacon's recent work, *Studies in Matthew* (New York, 1930), and the great collection of Jewish material in the *Commentary on the New Testament from Talmud and Midrash* (Munich: Beck, five volumes, 1922-28) by the late Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, as also the new edition of Doctor Montefiore's *Synoptic Gospels* (1927), and the supplemental volume, *Rabbinic Literature and Gospel Teachings* (1930), all serve to make this approach more clear. Fortunately, for the Judaism of this period we now have Professor George Foot Moore's monumental work, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era, the Age of the Tannaim* (Harvard University Press, two volumes, 1927; Vol. iii, *Notes*, 1930), and the new and revised edition of Bousset's *Religion of Judaism* from the pen of the late Professor Hugo Gressmann (Tübingen, 1926).

The proper point of departure for the study of St. Matthew is a consideration of Judaism, and especially of the Jewish Christian Church, during the period following the

Fall of Jerusalem in the year 70 and leading up to the even more disastrous and ruinous Second Revolt, in the time of Hadrian, 132-135 A. D.

The Fall of Jerusalem was an overwhelming blow not only to the Jewish apocalyptists (as we may see from passages in the nearly contemporary IV Ezra and II Baruch), but also to the ordinary faithful observer of the Law, for whom the land of his fathers was sacred, and the covenant between God and Israel in a real sense a guarantee of the continued holiness and inviolability of the Temple and of Jerusalem itself, 'the city of the Great King.' But now Jerusalem lay 'in heaps,' as the prophet had foretold, and the Temple was no more. What was to be done now to save Judaism from complete destruction must be undertaken by leaders equally energetic but less fanatical than those whose violence and foolhardiness had plunged all Palestine into war and brought red ruin upon the Holy City and the sacred House. It was a time for retrenchment, for readjustment, for strengthening the religious institutions that remained unshaken and had survived the struggle, for concentration upon the study of the Law—even without the Temple this could continue; it was inevitably, therefore, a period of growing conservatism. Sects were discouraged, and either faded away before triumphant Pharisaic scribism (like the Essenes and the curious group who produced the so-called *Zadokite Fragments*¹), or suffered increasing ostracism (like the Christians, the record of whose strained relations with their neighbors is to be found even in Q and L, not to mention other New Testament sources). The Sadducean hierarchy disappeared—Sadducaism never recovering from the destruction of the Temple and the cessation of its cult.

¹ See R. H. Charles (ed.), *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (1913), ii. 785ff.

Even before the fall of the city, according to the later legend, while the siege was still in progress, Rabban Jochanan ben Zakkai escaped and obtained permission from the Romans to establish his school at Jamnia. Here Judaism continued to flourish in its full rigor and vigor—minus the Temple worship. Here the questions were debated and decided which were of fundamental import for the religion of the Law, such as the yearly kalendar of fasts and festivals, the regulations concerning things 'clean' and 'unclean,' the elaborate *minutiæ* of the application of the sacred code to the life of the people. Thenceforth the Jewish religion was a religion of school and synagogue, the Temple with its sacrificial worship being no more. But that the Pharisaic leaders had not abandoned hope of a restoration of the Temple, that they viewed their work largely as an effort to preserve and safeguard the religious inheritance intact until a brighter day should dawn, is clear from the careful preservation in the Mishna² of the precise measurements of the Temple—the day would surely come when the House could be rebuilt in all its former glory!

Along with the renewed study of the Law and the exclusion of Sadducean and other sectarian errors went a careful definition of the Canon of Holy Scripture, an exact stereotyping of its text, and a painfully minute elaboration of the rules governing its interpretation.³ The motto of this period was quite obviously, Strengthen the things that remain. If Judaism was to survive in its very homeland, in Palestine itself, strong efforts were needed to unify, coördinate, and harmonize its most sacred elements. It is to this period—perhaps stretching it to include the years immediately following the insurrection under Hadrian—that we must assign the virtual suppression of the apocalyptic movement and its

² Tractate Middoth.

³ Moore, *Judaism*, i. 83-109.

exclusion from what Professor Moore called 'normative' Judaism. The late Professor Charles pointed out the great contrast between the free and widely variegated religious ideology of the period prior to 70 A. D., the golden age of apocalyptic, and the strict legalism of the second century, leading up to the codification of the oral law by Rabbi Judah ha Nasi at its close. He accounted for this contrast by the hypothesis that the apocalyptists (who were for him the representatives of the higher, more 'spiritual' Judaism of their time) were attracted into the Christian Church, and thus left the legalists in possession of orthodox Judaism.⁴ But a simpler hypothesis surely lies close at hand: the successive disasters of the Fall of Jerusalem and the crushing defeat of Bar-Kochba two generations later, followed by the bitterly repressive measures adopted by the Romans, demonstrated clearly both the dangers of apocalyptic Messianism (as championed by Akiba) and the falsity of its pre-suppositions. Only fools would continue to tolerate a movement which had encouraged, if not incited, the excesses of the two rebellions; and which was undeniably in large measure responsible for the destruction of Temple and city, for endless bloodshed, famine, and desolation, and all the overwhelming woes that accompanied and followed defeat. This situation is important for the background it supplies to certain phases of early Christianity; but it is surely going too far to credit the Christian movement with the disappearance of Jewish apocalyptic. Instead, it belongs with the whole tendency of postwar Judaism in the direction of consolidation, unification, conservatism, and exclusiveness. Even out in the Diaspora, far beyond the borders of Palestine, the effects of this movement were soon felt. The world-mission of Judaism was brought to a halt. Syncretistic efforts like those of Philo and his predecessors in Alexandria, aiming

⁴ Charles, APOT, ii. 7. Cf. Moore, *Judaism*, i. 90ff.

to combine orthodox Judaism with Greek philosophy, came to a fruitless end. Even the Septuagint, the classic Greek translation of the Old Testament, was abandoned to the Christians,⁵ along with much of the Apocrypha and most of the Apocalypses—all of them, in fact, save the book of Daniel, which had already been included in the Hebrew Canon. In place of the Septuagint new and more accurate—i.e. painfully literal—translations of the Hebrew Scriptures came into use among Greek-speaking Jews.

Professor Moore⁶ has pointed out the importance of our Gospel of Matthew as a source for Tannaite Judaism—the most important, in this regard, of the three Synoptics, “not only for its contents but for its attitude; it is at once the most conservatively Jewish of the Gospels and the most violently anti-Pharisaic. For the prominence of both these features it may be surmised that the history of the Nazarenes in their relations to Gentile Christianity on the one side and to the Jewish authorities on the other was decisive.”⁶ Indeed, this double attitude helps to date the book—especially its attitude toward Judaism. Not only is Matthew the most thoroughly ‘apocalyptic-eschatological’ of the Gospels in its general outlook—a fact which suggests a *milieu* and a time when apocalyptic Messianism was in the ascendant; but the references contained in the most ‘eschatological’ of its sections, the Matthean version of the ‘Little Apocalypse,’ indicate fairly well its time and place. (Of course the date must not be brought down too late—the *terminus ad quem* is obviously the earliest indubitable citation or reference to Matthew or its contents in the second century; the parallels in Ignatius are not absolutely certain, though *Smyrn.* i seems

⁵ See T. R. Glover, *The World of the New Testament* (1931), pp. 121, 135; Moore, i. 101.

⁶ *Judaism*, i. 186.

to rest either upon Matthew iii. 15 or upon its equivalent in the tradition of the church of Antioch.⁷)

The warning in ch. xxiv. 23f.—‘Then if any one say unto you, Lo, here is Christ! or Here! believe it not. For false Christs and false prophets will arise, and will show great signs and wonders, so as to deceive, if possible, the very elect’—is taken directly from Mark xiii. 21–22. But the addition of the word ‘Christ’ in vs. 5 and of ‘the sign of the Son of Man in heaven’ in vs. 30 may be viewed as a heightening of the eschatological outlook.⁸ And when we turn to vs. 15, where ‘the abomination of desolation’ is described as ‘standing in a holy place’ (i.e. in the holy *land*, as the context of Daniel itself suggested—cf. Dan. xi. 16, 41), contrasting clearly in explicitness with Mark’s ‘standing where it ought not,’ and not at all suggested by Luke’s ‘Jerusalem surrounded with armies’ (Luke xxi. 20)—it seems clear that the author of Matthew has made his own fresh study of Daniel, and is in vital touch with a Jewish-Christian apocalyptic tradition. Canon Streeter has pointed out the heightening of the apocalyptic interest found in Matthew.⁹ No longer is it the Fall of Jerusalem, or the Roman armies in Palestine—but *Antichrist*, standing in the midst of the holy land!¹⁰ With this agrees the interpretation assumed in the

⁷ ‘Baptized by John in order that all righteousness might be fulfilled by him.’ But as McNeile says, Comm. on Mt., p. xxvii, ‘Most of his parallels are not decisive.’ McNeile dates the Gospel c. 70–115, or, more closely, 80–100 A. D.

⁸ Cf. my ‘Eschatology of the Second Century,’ in *Amer. Jour. Theol.* xxi. 193–211; Bacon, *Gospel of Mark*, pp. 103f. The ‘heightening’ of the eschatological outlook in Mt. xxiv. 29 (‘immediately’) has more significance as added to a (Marcan) passage which has long been current but is at last (so the author thinks) approaching fulfillment. Thus instead of requiring a date within ten years of the Fall of Jerusalem (so Harnack, *Chronologie*, i. 653), the verse presupposes the new identification of the ‘abomination of desolation’ made in vs. 15: the Antichrist to appear before the end of the world.

⁹ *The Four Gospels*, p. 519; cf. *Oxford Studies in the Syn. Prob.*, p. 220.

¹⁰ Though *ἐὰν τις ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ* may be a gloss, derived from Daniel, since it is omitted by Syr Sin, which is an especially good authority for the tradition of the neighborhood of Antioch. However, its clear substitution for the Marcan phrase (xiii. 14) is difficult to explain in such terms.

Didache—another point of contact with that document.¹¹ Moreover, such a saying as that in xxvi. 52, ‘All they that take the sword shall perish by the sword,’ has added significance if derived from the tradition of a time when the temptation to resort to violence was pressed upon the Christians by some at least of their Jewish neighbors. Such a time was clearly that of the uprising under Bar-Kochba, when Christian Jews were tortured if they refused to renounce Jesus as their Messiah and fight under the banner of Akiba and Bar-Kochba against Rome.¹² We do not hear of such violent methods in the days of Josephus and the first revolt; nor during the generation immediately following the Fall of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. Obviously, this does not *prove* that our Matthew comes from a time immediately preceding the second revolt; but the Gospel certainly suits such a background remarkably well—when Bar-Kochba was hailed as Messiah not only by his followers but also by no less a person than the saintly Akiba. “Many shall come . . . saying, I am the Messiah . . . with great signs and wonders, so as to deceive, if possible, the very elect.” Slight as they are, the added touches to the material taken over from Mark seem to require a time when apocalypticism was dominant, in at least one particular area, and when Messianism was a personal issue between real leaders of men. The atmosphere is different from that of the early Roman Gospel, where we first meet with the Little Apocalypse and where the expectations it encouraged were vague and indefinite. No doubt the source was originally Palestinian—though Matthew takes it over from Mark and not independently,¹³ and hence adds his touches to Mark’s own version, making concrete what had hitherto been indefinite and impersonal, and add-

¹¹ Didache, xvi. 4.

¹² Moore, *Judaism*, i. 91. Cf. Justin, *Apology*, xxxi. 6.

¹³ Had the Little Apocalypse meanwhile disappeared?—since its predictions of the Parousia to follow the Fall of Jerusalem had been proved mistaken?

ing (as was his wont) material from other sources—chiefly Q, at first, then from his own peculiar source or sources—to fill out the discourse. It may of course be thought that the background here is just as likely one belonging to 66–70 A. D. (the Jewish War) as it is appropriate to the turn of the century and the events leading up to the second revolt two generations later; but it is unlikely that political (or practical) Messianism revived among the Jews to anything like the extent here presupposed within a generation after the Fall. (It is scarcely possible that a date *prior* to 66 is presupposed: the book is too obviously written after 70.) How sternly even suspects were dealt with by the Roman authorities may be seen from the story of Hegesippus regarding the two grandsons of Jude, the Lord's brother.¹⁴ And we do know that the Bar-Kochba revolt was a Messianic movement, bringing to a head a revived political Messianism early in the second century.¹⁵ A date, then, some time about the turn of the century, or a little later, seems required by the general situation out of which the specifically apocalyptic section of the book arose.

With all this agrees the temper and outlook of the Gospel of Matthew as a whole—a heightened apocalyptic Messianism, obviously contrasting with the political hopes of the author's countrymen, cherished within the Christian body as *their* solution of the darkening enigma of the nation's fate. 'On account of the growing lawlessness, the love of many shall wax cold' (xxiv. 12)—this may, indeed, refer to the state of affairs preceding the first outbreak (66–70);¹⁶ but in view of the other references in the book it seems to fit better

¹⁴ Eusebius, H. E., iii. 20—time of Domitian. Further, be it noted that IV Ezra and the Apocalypse of Baruch urge anything but a program of *practical* Messianism!

¹⁵ 'It is true that we have no knowledge of any Jew before Barcochba (A. D. 135) who claimed explicitly to be the Messiah.' Bernard, *St. John*, K. 353.

¹⁶ Josephus makes clear the lawlessness of the times. Ant., bk. xx; Vita; War, bk. ii.

a later period, when the second wave of misguided Messianism was beginning to gather strength.¹⁷

And the location likewise seems to be fairly clearly suggested—not Jerusalem nor Judea ('Judea' in vs. 16 comes from Mark¹⁸), but northern Palestine, where Canon Charles, and more recently Mr. Chaim Kaplan,¹⁹ have succeeded in locating a center from which apocalyptic writings emanated. Mr. Kaplan surveys the evidence in the interest of fixing the date of I Enoch; but the data tell equally in favor of the location (i.e. of the writer of at least some sections of that book), viz. the references to Abilene, the waters of Dan, and the southward journey of Enoch (i.e. into the Holy Land) to obtain divine revelation. It seems clear from this that the author lived in northern Palestine, and, indeed, on the very border, if not over the line in Syria. And it is somewhere in this region, apparently, that the author of the Gospel of Matthew lived, some generations later.²⁰ The author of Matthew even transfers the account of the ascension to a hill in Galilee (xxviii. 16) which had been designated in advance by Jesus—possibly the Mount of the Transfiguration? or perhaps that of the Sermon, especially if οὐ ἐτάξατο can be taken to mean 'where he delivered the new law to them' (so B. Weiss). Canon Streeter has made out a strong case for Antioch as the home of the Matthean

¹⁷ Further notes of late date are the heightening of the controversies with the Pharisees (ch. xxiii—see below); the great development of the Petrine legend—natural in northern Palestine or Syria: Peter came near being Pope in Antioch rather than in Rome; and, not least, the Gospel's sweeping 'universalism.' On the still later and further elaboration of the Petrine legend in this region, see L. Vaganay, *L'Évangile de Pierre*, Paris, 1930, who also notes the thorough anti-Judaism of the apocryphon.

¹⁸ St. Luke's 'Judea' seems as a rule to mean Palestine, or Jewish-populated territory, as a whole. Of ten references, only ii. 4 and iii. 1 identify 'Judea' with the territory properly so designated.

¹⁹ *Anglican Theological Review*, xii. 534ff.; Oct. 1930. See also Bacon, *Studies in Matthew*, pp. 35f.

²⁰ Note, in view of what was said above, that the war under Bar-Kochba began, like the earlier one in 66, in the north. Gwatkin, *Early Church History*, i. 137.

Gospel;²¹ to Antioch points the marked emphasis upon Peter, who was a great figure in the Antiochene church before Rome successfully laid claim to him.²² But it is difficult to localize the Gospel thus definitely in a city. Equally suitable would be some place in the neighborhood, somewhere in northern Palestine or Syria; and perhaps somewhat more suitable, in view both of the contacts between Matthew and the Didache, which Streeter himself locates in some backward Syrian hamlet, and of the later tradition of the use of 'Matthew's Gospel' by the Syrian 'Nazoreans'.²³ At any rate, it must have been a community strongly Jewish in its thought and outlook, where (as in the Didache) the Christians are in daily contact with orthodox, conservative Jews.

The author himself is a Jew. Unlike Mark, who does not understand 'the Jews' and has little sympathy with them; unlike Luke, who understands them well enough and recognizes the strength and beauty of their faith but whose own cultural background is the broad world of the Empire and of Eastern Hellenism; Matthew understands the Jews and sympathizes with their outlook as only a born Jew can do. Even his bitter tirades against the Pharisees and their 'hypocrisy' do not obscure for him the fact that 'one jot or one tittle shall not pass from the Law till all be fulfilled' (v. 18). And when he sadly recognizes that the woes which have fallen upon the nation are due to their rejection of Jesus as the Messiah ('his blood be on us and on our children,' xxvii. 25), he writes as a Jew—already touched, one might almost say, with the pathos of that eternal Jew, the immortal sufferer of later literature. His interests are Jew-

²¹ *The Four Gospels*, pp. 500-523.

²² Streeter, *The Primitive Church*, pp. 44f., 58ff., 142.

²³ See also Bacon, *Studies in Matthew*, Int., chh. iii-iv; Irenæus, Adv. Haer. i. 262 (Harvey, i. 22); Eusebius, H. E. iii. 27; Jerome, De Vir. Ill., iii; Epiphanius, Panar. xxix. Further, northern Palestine was never a strong Christian center, as Syria was. Is a local interest reflected in iv. 15 ('Zebulun and Naphtali') and 24 ('all Syria')?

ish: the 'Law,' the Messianic hope, the fulfillment of prophecy, the relation of (Christian) Jews to 'heathen and publicans,' the duties of worship, prayer, fasting, and almsgiving. He has no sympathy with the 'emancipated' type of Christian, to whose attitudes and behavior Paul's gospel seems to have lent unfortunate and ample encouragement. Though it is scarcely possible to see an allusion to St. Paul in the one who is 'least in the kingdom of heaven,' who has taught men to ignore the minute requirements of the Law,²⁴ still it is clear that Paul the Hellenist and Matthew the Jewish Evangelist faced in almost opposite directions in their view of Jesus' work and teaching. And yet the author of the Gospel is a 'universalist' in his interpretation of the destiny of the gospel: it is to be preached to all nations (xxiv. 14; xxviii. 19) before the end can come. This note is clear in spite of the narrower outlook of one of his sources: 'Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man be come' (x. 23). Consciously or not, he shares here the view of St. Paul. The Gentiles are to be evangelized, and then Israel will be saved along with them (cf. Rom. xi. 25ff.).

Moreover, he writes and thinks as a Jew. It has often been pointed out that he gathers his material together into great subject-sequences or discourses, like the collection of sayings in *Pirke Aboth*.²⁵ It may even be thought that he arranges his material for purposes of study (like the Mishna, which is preëminently a textbook, not a treatise), or possibly for reading in public worship, like the *haftaras* or lessons from the Law and Prophets chosen for use in the synagogue services. Whether this be so or not, he certainly reflects the usages and discipline of his church, and his Gospel deserves the title 'the ecclesiastical Gospel.' For he is not only a Jew,

²⁴ v. 19.—Matthew was probably a Hellenist too! Certainly he wrote in Greek, and there are some traces in his Gospel of non-Palestinian contacts and influences.

²⁵ See Hawkins, *Hora Synoptica*,² pp. 163ff.; Bacon, *Studies in Matthew*, pp. xivff.

he is also a Jewish churchman. Peter is the foundation-rock of the church. Yet the scribes sit in Moses' seat—their teaching is authoritative, though their example is reprehensible.²⁶ The church, accordingly, is the congregation of Messiah's chosen ones—'the new Israel' within the larger body of the elect nation,²⁷ though it is destined to include Gentiles also (there were many Jews who held a similar view of *Judaism* in the first century). Its standards are high, its discipline is strict. Members of the church must keep the Law *plus* the new commandments of the Lord. And yet there are signs of a relaxation of the standard—as was inevitable when Jesus' prophetic teaching of the ethics of the Kingdom tended to become the Canon Law of the church. An exception was allowed in the otherwise absolute prohibition of divorce (unless this is a mere logical deduction, quite in scribal style, the 'cause of fornication' presumably having taken place *before* marriage, and thus rendering the marriage covenant void).²⁸ In brief, it is easy to recognize the author himself—or at least men of his class—in the 'scribe who hath been made a disciple to the kingdom of

²⁶ xiv. 18; xxiii. 1-3.

²⁷ See on this whole conception E. F. Scott, *The Beginnings of the Church* (1914).

²⁸ v. 32; xix. 9. Note the precautions taken in Dt. xxii to insure the purity of a marriage, and to detect and punish infringements (vv. 13-29). It is obvious that the 'unseemly thing' in Dt. xxiv. 1 cannot be adultery or fornication, as these did not lead to divorce but to death. However, it is useless to urge this theoretical punishment of Dt. (seventh century B. C.) against the interpretation allowed in the first century A. D. in Jewish and Jewish-Christian circles; or to appeal to the *Pericope de adultera* (Jn. viii. 5—the very question implies a softening of the rigorous Mosaic penalty); for the fact that the two schools of Hillel and Shammai disagreed upon the point, and that Shammai allowed *only* sexual misconduct to justify divorce, shows clearly that the death penalty was not enforced. One may, indeed, argue from Dt. xxii that divorce for sexual irregularity *before* marriage was common enough, even in the seventh century B. C., to require the prophetic reformers to recognize and authorize a primitive test which should prevent abuse of the right to divorce a bride who was not a virgin. Moreover, this may explain Matthew's use of *πορνεία* rather than *μοιχεία*, which we should expect. It is certainly clear that on the whole question a Jewish background is presupposed in Matthew rather than a Hellenistic or Gentile. Hence the only interpretations that require to be considered are those that would have meaning for Jewish or Jewish-Christian thought and practice.

heaven, who is like unto a householder, who brings forth out of his treasure things new and old' (xiii. 52).²⁹ Easy likewise is it to recognize in the gospel some of the same interests and tendencies that characterized Judaism generally in the generations immediately following the destruction of Jerusalem—a growing rigidity, an increasing definiteness of view, a stronger emphasis upon a specific code of ethics (based naturally upon the Law; for Christians this included also the teaching of Jesus), an underscoring of the apocalyptic hope, and along with this a free play of the religious fancy—strictly limited, however, within the moral area of the Haggadah, and not ranging freely, as in the earlier apocalyptic, over all subjects in heaven and earth, astronomy, demonology, world history, and the nature of man.

The strange and remarkable thing is that 'Matthew' should have taken over and made such use of the Gospel of Mark as he does. The fact speaks strongly for the authenticity of Mark's materials and their agreement with the common tradition—though Matthew characteristically disregards Mark's order, for the most part, save in the Passion Narrative. It speaks strongly also for the early dissemination of Mark; for, unlike Luke, Matthew has had the Roman Gospel in his hands long enough to be so familiar with it that he can use its contents in passages far removed from the immediate context. He seems almost to have memorized Mark—another scribal trait; and his procedure is very different from that of Luke, who obviously has Mark right before him as he writes. If we assume that Matthew was a teacher—or perhaps 'catechist,' if we forget some of the

²⁹ True, he does not transform the Gospel into a code of *Halakhoth*; but his tendency is clearly in that direction. And we must beware of assuming the exclusively legal interests of first-century scribism. The scribes were *lawyers*; but the stories from the Tannaite period indicate that Rabbinic Judaism was a vital and not moribund religion, and that it was not solely concerned with the minimum requirements of the Law.

later technical connotations of the word—this feature will be the more readily explained. For certainly he had no modern copy of Mark, with cross-references in the margin, or even a book made of bound-up sheets: an ancient roll of papyrus could not be thumbed-over readily until one found the passage he was looking for. His ability to quote a statement of Mark at some distance from the passage immediately before him is evident from such passages as vii. 28–29; ix. 34, 36; x. 17–22, 40; xxiii. 11 (though Luke has a few examples of such interweaving: e.g. xiv. 3, 35c; xvi. 13). His familiarity with Mark was important for his purpose, which was to reorganize the material of both Mark and Q and arrange it in a new subject-order. An excellent example of his method is to be seen in ch. xii, where verse after verse weaves Mark and Q together into an artistic whole. For twenty years or more, perhaps, he had been familiar with Mark—the contacts between Rome and Antioch (or Syria) were such that Mark's Gospel would be known in the east very shortly after its appearance in the capital of the Empire.³⁰ And it is also significant that Matthew does rely upon the general outline of Mark, even outside the Passion Narrative, for the modicum of historical sequence that he retains. In a true sense, his Gospel is a new edition of St. Mark. Now, if Q, as some scholars assume, was a continuous narrative (like Bacon's 'S,' for example), on a par, let us say, with Streeter's and Taylor's 'Proto-Luke,' it is difficult to see how Matthew could have abandoned a Palestinian document of such extent in favor of the Roman document. Q can hardly have been a Gospel, even an outline of one.

Into this combination of Mark plus Q, Matthew weaves other material—derived we can scarcely say whence, but

³⁰ See above, p. 66. Apparently Matthew was much more familiar with Mark than was Luke—a further confirmation of Streeter's hypothesis that Luke came upon Mark's Gospel *after* he had collected considerable material and written his 'first draft.' He is not nearly so free as Matthew is in using Mark.

probably from the local tradition accessible to him in his own northern Palestinian or Syrian church. Some of this material is haggadic, some of it is drawn from early Christian teaching and exegesis, some of it is plainly apocryphal, some of it apocalyptic, some of it legal, i.e. Christian-Jewish interpretation of the Law, some of it is indubitably authentic recollection, on a par with the most reliable parts of Q and L; and some of it was plainly drawn directly from the Old Testament, and not by way of exegesis. Canon Streeter has endeavored to isolate this Matthean 'special matter' and to identify it as a document of Jerusalem provenance, the fourth foundation ('M') of his 'Four Document Hypothesis'.³¹ But, so far as I know, no one has agreed with him in this attempt, nor has any effort been made to prove a common viewpoint or diction or style for the supposed document. Indeed, it is difficult to see how such heterogeneous material can have come from a common written source.³²

(1) As an example of Christian Midrashic haggadah, it is sufficient to mention the Nativity Narratives in chh. i-ii; or the story of Peter walking on the water, xiv. 28-31; or the stater in the fish's mouth, xvii. 24-27; or the end of Judas, xxvii. 3-10.

(2) Christian exegesis and homiletics may be seen in the explanation of John's baptism of Jesus in iii. 14-15;³³ or in such passages as xii. 5-7; xiii. 36-43.

³¹ *The Four Gospels*, ch. ix.

³² Cf. Easton in *Angl. Theol. Rev.*, viii. 259-61.

³³ For Matthew, as for Mark and Luke, the baptism of John already possesses the Christian or ecclesiastical significance: whereas, as Moore points out, Jewish baptism was always initiatory, never backward-looking or 'for the remission of sins' (*Judaism*, i. 334). The value of Jesus' example in his baptism 'to fulfill all righteousness' (iii. 15) was probably very real in Matthew's circle. The problem it raised, however (iii. 14), depends perhaps in part on the conception of John's part in the baptism which resulted from this Christian interpretation—whereas historically John's 'penitents' or 'converts' had probably baptized themselves (as Sanday held: see *Outlines of the Life of Christ*, p. 36). The ὑπὸ 'Ιωάννου of all the sources expresses the Christian view of the procedure. See B. Weiss' interpretation of the passage in his *Commentary in the Meyer series*.

(3) Material approaching the formulation of a Christian code is found in the Sermon on the Mount, and in such passages as x. 41; xviii. 18; xix. 10-12; xxiii. 2-3, 8-10—passages no doubt familiar to early Christians in the Greek-speaking Jewish community in which the Gospel arose, and reflecting alike the interests and practices of that church.

(4) Even early liturgical material may be suspected of underlying such passages as xi. 25-30, the Great Rejoicing and the Divine Invitation; or the final commission, xxviii. 18-20; or the saying in xviii. 19-20, 'where two or three are gathered together in my name'—passages upon which the late Professor Bousset laid emphasis in his interpretation of early Christian worship, in his famous *Kyrios Christos*.³⁴

(5) Apocalyptic material is found frequently, e.g. xiii. 24-30; xx. 1-16; xxii. 1-14; xxv *passim*. Most of the 'Matthean' parables, i.e. those peculiar to Matthew, are emphatically apocalyptic-eschatological in outlook.

(6) Apocryphal material is found in the message of Pilate's wife, xxvii. 19; the guilt of the Jews, vv. 24-25; the earthquake at the crucifixion and the bodies of the saints appearing in the Holy City, vv. 51b-53; the guard at the tomb, vv. 62-66; the description of the angel of the Resurrection, xxviii. 2-5; the origin of the Jewish explanation of the Resurrection, vv. 11-15. It is observable that these latter materials, found in the Passion Narrative, are usually not worked in carefully with the main narrative, but are easily separated, almost as if they were later interpolations; without them, the narrative moves forward without interruption. And yet there is no textual warrant for pronouncing them interpolations, as is the case with several additions to the Lucan Passion Narrative. Either they belong to the original Gospel, or they were added at so early a date that

³⁴ Pp. 45ff., 231, etc.

no copies survive in which they are not found. I incline to think that in the case of one or two of them a second-century manuscript, if such were to be discovered, would show that they were early additions to the text—interpolations in fact.

(7) Another factor, present to some degree in all the early Christian accounts of the life of Jesus but especially prominent in Matthew, is the determinative, and even productive, influence of the Old Testament. It is apparent in the early sources of I Acts, and also in the Gospels. Not only is Old Testament prophecy adduced to explain this or that event or teaching: 'This came to pass that it might be fulfilled, which was written in the prophet, saying . . .'; not only is the language of the Old Testament used, by preference, in describing this or that scene, and even in stating the words of our Lord; but it can hardly be doubted that the Old Testament has exercised a *creative* influence upon the tradition—especially in the Nativity and Passion Narratives. Quite naturally, this tendency is especially observable in Matthew. The residence in Egypt (Matt. ii. 15; Hosea xi. 1) and the reference to Rachel's weeping (ii. 17; Jer. xxxi. 15) come to mind at once. The number of animals used at the Entry into Jerusalem is doubled to suit the requirements of the Old Testament as understood by the evangelist, who ignored the prophet's parallelism (xxi. 2, 7; Zech. ix. 9).

And in the Passion Narrative over and over again, the Old Testament seems to have suggested something more than the external form of the narrative, for example:

- Mark xiv. 27, 'smite the shepherd' (so Matthew)
- xv. 24, parting of Jesus' garments (so Luke, Matthew, John)
- 29, 'wagging their heads' (so Matthew)
- 34, 'Eli, Eli, lama . . .' (so Matthew)

36, vinegar (so Luke and John; Matthew has 'wine mingled with myrrh,' and vinegar later)

Luke xxii. 37, 'numbered with the transgressors'

xxiii. 30, 'to the hills, Fall on us'

35, the mockery

46, 'Into thy hands'

49, the friends watching from afar

Matthew xxvii. 9f., 'twenty pieces of silver,' and the potter's field

43, 'He trusted in God'

John xix. 36, 'a bone of him shall not be broken' (the Paschal lamb)

37, 'they shall look on him'

Further, it is scarcely possible to account for the stories of the children shouting in the Temple (Matthew xxi. 14-16) and the disposition of the thirty pieces of silver (xxvii. 3-10) apart from the Old Testament quotation which crowns the narrative in each case. Nothing was more natural! The mind of the author of Matthew was steeped in the Old Testament, and, indeed, in the Greek Version—he was a Hellenist. And for him, as for many another student of the Old Testament at this early time (before the New Testament writings had come into general use), the Old Testament was a book of divine revelation in which everything relating to Christianity had been secretly described in advance. Indeed, the Old Testament, had the question been asked, would have been reckoned among the valid sources for the life of our Lord! As a divine prediction and foreshadowing it was equally as reliable as the testimony of eyewitnesses! No rabbinist would question such an attitude: the Holy One, blessed be He, knew in advance all that should ever transpire, and He had made known to

His servants the prophets such future facts as were needful for reproof, or correction, or exhortation to righteousness. Hence, especially in the earliest formulated gospel tradition, i.e. in the Passion Narrative, we find traces of an influence on the part of the Old Testament far exceeding mere literary style or allusion; not the form only but the inner core of the narrative has frequently been affected by the Old Testament. And, indeed, this is true precisely in those parts of the narrative where the testimony of eyewitnesses would be most uncertain or impracticable—the procedure at the crucifixion (when all the disciples ‘forsook him and fled’) and the words from the cross (which none of them were there to hear).

And yet what precious sayings have been preserved in the Matthean special material—sayings that bear upon their very face the imprimatur of their authenticity! Such sayings as the five Beatitudes peculiar to Matthew (v. 5, 7–10); or the words, ‘Except ye turn and become as children, ye shall not enter the Kingdom; whosoever therefore humbleth himself as this little child, the same is great in the Kingdom’ (xviii. 3–4); or ‘See that ye despise not one of these little ones’ (vs. 10); or ‘I will *give* unto this last even as unto thee’ (xx. 14); or the little Parable of the Two Sons—‘which of these two did the will of the father?’ (xxi. 31): the mere citation of such passages suffices to show that the ‘living and abiding voice’ of tradition was not silent even at the end of the century,³⁵ and that many a doubtless authentic saying of Jesus had failed to be incorporated in the compilations of Q, L, and the other discourse material of Mark and Luke.

It remains to discuss the theology of St. Matthew. He was a churchman, an ecclesiastic, of an early type. The frequent references to prophecy, and to false prophets, to the

³⁵ Eusebius H. E., iii. 39. 4; cf. I Pet. i. 23.

error of false teaching and the distinction to be drawn between the authority of the scribes and their practice, between the 'righteousness' demanded by Jesus and that taught and exemplified by the scribes and Pharisees: all these data taken together suggest that the author was himself a teacher, if not a prophet, a Christian scribe—one might *almost* say, a converted rabbi, whose mind traveled on in the same general direction it had hitherto pursued, but now with a new enthusiasm and under a new inspiration. The form and arrangement of his material is a further confirmation of this hypothesis: he writes as well as thinks like a teacher. It is not surprising, therefore, that a definite theological stamp is to be seen upon his work—though with this proviso, that it is not the full-fledged theological development observable in St. Paul, St. John, and the Apologists, men who breathed deeply the atmosphere of popular philosophical and theological thought found in more thoroughly Hellenized areas. His theology is built on Jewish lines: its two foci are still the Law and the Community, a *practical* theology rather than speculative. Of contacts with Jewish Gnosticism, which Bousset (*Kyrios Christos*) and Gunkel (*Zum relig. Verständnis des N. T.s*) have sketched in definite outline, there is even slighter trace than in St. Paul—far less than in St. John. Jewish Gnosticism was abundantly speculative, but it affords little clue to the interpretation of Matthew's point of view. He is obviously concerned with the practical interests and empirical problems of the actual community in which he lived and taught, its worship, its discipline, its relations both with the orthodox Jewish authorities and with the heathen outside, its faith, its missionary efforts, above all with its exalted hopes of the coming of the End. Even the baptismal formula found in the concluding paragraph of the Gospel (xxviii. 19) need not be a later liturgical interpolation; it sums up the experience of the converts and

combines their inherited Jewish faith in God ('baptizing them into the name of the Father'), their new faith in the Son [of man], and their experience of the Holy Spirit which had been 'given' as the earnest and guarantee of the coming of the New Age.

It is a theology born of apocalyptic eschatology, as the full context clearly shows; but it is practical, not speculative, to the core; and it really sums up both the point of view and the contribution to Christian thought and knowledge of this preëminently Jewish ecclesiastical Gospel. And if it leaves us finally with a question—Was Jesus as Jewish as Matthew represents?—it also helps us with the answer. For, after all, Jesus rose even higher above the limitations of his time and place than this ardent but nevertheless rabbinic-minded teacher was able to conceive. He *was* more, and he has *meant* far more to mankind, than the transcendent Messiah of an ancient Jewish Christian sect. There is no doubt that Jesus was quite as 'Jewish' as Matthew represents; but it is another question if he was as thorough an apocalypticist as this Gospel portrays him. A comparison of this Gospel with the others makes it clear that Matthew has heightened the effect of many a saying, has added new editorial touches and new material which give the impression that Jesus' teaching was primarily and thoroughly apocalyptic-eschatological.³⁶ Already there were forces tending in the direction of a different interpretation, lessening the emphasis upon apocalyptic Messianism. The question is thus not to be answered simply by preferring one divergent interpretation to the other, and identifying Jesus' teaching and outlook with, say, the noneschatological, or with the ultraeschatolog-

³⁶A further and modern proof of this is to be seen in the results arrived at by Albert Schweitzer and other 'eschatologists,' as the fruit, in large measure, of their uncritical dependence upon Matthew. Careful source-analysis would have saved them from some of the pitfalls of their extremely one-sided and exaggerated interpretation of the character, the career, and the inner self-consciousness of Jesus.

ical. His real view probably lies back of both, at their point of divergence. As J. Weiss and Easton maintain, there is a 'double Christology' in the Gospels; and either it goes back to Jesus (as Easton affirms³⁷) or else it represents this divergent development at a point some distance (however slight) from the actual thinking of our Lord. In brief, it seems undeniable that apocalyptic eschatology formed a real factor in Jesus' thinking; but not at all on the scale reflected in Matthew. Indeed, Matthew reflects a viewpoint about as extreme in this direction as it was possible to go and still maintain contact with the historical sources. Some passages (even outside the apocalyptic chapters, xxiv-xxv) read almost as if they were drawn from an early Christian apocalyptic writing. But it is impossible to believe that the teaching of Jesus was as thoroughly 'eschatological' as Matthew presupposes. In fact, transcendental or apocalyptic Messianism can be fairly severely delimited in its influence upon Judaism to the eight generations from the book of Daniel (168 B. C.) to the Fall of Jerusalem (in 70 A. D.)—perhaps its flourishing period is narrower still, if we begin with I Enoch (at least the 'Parables') rather than Daniel as the point of departure. Whatever its origin (many scholars think of Persia or Iran as the original source of these ideas), it never became entirely popular in Palestine, nor ever characterized what Professor Moore called 'normative' Judaism; and it was eventually rejected and whole-heartedly repudiated by the Jewish authorities. Its entire bizarre, visionary, dualistic scheme of ideas fitted ill with the noble monotheism inherited from the prophets which was characteristic of the ethical and practical religion of the Jews. The main, central line of development was still the prophetic, not the apocalyptic; it is not entirely accurate to describe

³⁷ *Christ in the Gospels*, p. 154. Cf. J. Weiss, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, Vol. xvi, pp. 505f.

apocalyptic as 'the form Jewish prophecy took in this age'—for its motives, aims, outlook, and presuppositions were quite different. And there can be little doubt that the presuppositions of Jesus' religious teaching are fundamentally prophetic, not apocalyptic. The apocalyptic element has been added on to the prophetic. The *ideas* often enough are apocalyptic, but the underlying religious *motives* (faith, love, repentance, humility, and obedience) are undeniably prophetic. And it was the motives, not the ideas, that molded the religion of Jesus.

Temporary as it was, and not affording a permanent clue either to the teaching or the personality of Jesus, apocalyptic Messianism did provide the terms for a higher conception of our Lord and of the future life which were of great value to the church in making the transition from its early Palestinian to its later Hellenistic environment.³⁸ Apocalyptic Messiah ('Son of Man') is not the exact equivalent of Hellenistic 'Kyrios'; but it was as close an approximation as Jewish thought had provided; and in the Gospel of Matthew

³⁸ We must be fair to the apocalyptists! Bizarre as were their ideas, the underlying motives of their faith (God's justice, the future life) were in advance of the Old Testament; and the extent of their influence must be accounted for by the fact that they held the only form of the doctrine of immortality possible to them under the ideology of their day. Further, they still held fast to the *social* concept of religion, and 'looked for a *city* whose Builder and Maker is God,' a '*Kingdom* in the heavens wherein dwelleth righteousness.' (Note the strong social motive in the highly apocalyptic allegory of the Last Judgment in Mt. xxv. 31-46.) By contrast, the Greek and later Christian conception of individual immortality is one in which the social conception of religion has repeatedly been neglected. Jesus' teaching appears to have held the two in balance.

All the same, the apocalyptic-eschatological conception of Christ and of Christianity was wholly inadequate, and was destined to be superseded, though it left many vestiges in Christian thought! The disturbing effect of this strain in traditional Christianity is fitly symbolized in Handel's glorious *Messiah*. Following the superb Pastoral Symphony, the Passion Narrative of Part II introduces the notes of conflict; the peace of heaven gives place to the strain and confusion of earth, of man's sin and the pain and discord it entails; but in the end heaven is victorious, peace prevails, and 'the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.' Here is the real climax of the work. What follows, viz. the eschatological passages, many feel to be an apocalyptic intrusion into the prophetic religion which lies at the basis of Old and New Testaments and is the heart of the Oratorio: the apocalyptic eschatology comes as a decided anticlimax—in Handel's music as in the Christian religion generally.

the former term has undoubtedly already taken on some of the connotations of the latter—Christ is the Lord of the church's cult, the head of the church, present at its services of worship, the heavenly possessor of all authority, the one to whom the church's authorities must look up, and from whom the right to 'bind' and 'loose' is derived, as well as the final Judge of all mankind. Quite obviously, apocalyptic Messianism was an important stage in the development leading up to the very frontiers of the later Catholic doctrines of Christ and the church.

VIII

HELLENISTIC MYSTICISM AND THE FOURTH GOSPEL

THE past twenty-five years have seen a steady change in the approach to the Fourth Gospel. The late William Sanday's *Criticism of the Fourth Gospel* (1905) was almost the last work of the old school derived from Westcott and the conservatives. Principal Alfred E. Garvie's *The Beloved Disciple* (1922) shows a weakening of the case for 'Johannine' authorship, while later works definitely break away from the traditional approach. Even Sanday himself, before he died, acknowledged himself to have been won over to the 'non-Johannine' view by Baron von Hügel's article on the Gospel in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1911). The book that has probably had the most powerful influence in advancing this view is Professor Ernest F. Scott's *Fourth Gospel, Its Purpose and Theology* (1906). It is written with perfect clarity and deep insight, and after more than a quarter century is still the best general introduction to the Gospel of John. Archbishop Bernard's commentary in two volumes is a much later book in date of publication (1929); but it is somewhat disappointing—it takes almost no account of the newer problems in historical interpretation and might have been written, for the most part, before the Great War. On the other hand, the commentary by the Rev. G. H. C. MacGregor, of Glasgow, in Doctor Moffatt's series (designed for *Everyman* but renamed by the publishers *The Moffatt Commentary*), is a really outstanding and up-to-date work (1928). Mention should also be made of Lord Charnwood's *According to St.*

John (1925), Canon Streeter's *Four Gospels* (1924), with its long section (Part III) devoted to this subject, Professor J. Estlin Carpenter's *Johannine Writings* (1927), Professor Walter Bauer's commentary in the German *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament* (2d ed., 1925), and the chapter on the Johannine writings and their Christology (ch. v) in the late Wilhelm Bousset's *Kyrios Christos* (3d ed., 1926). Professor W. F. Howard's book, *The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation* (1931), contains an excellent survey of modern work in the field.

The change has come about, first of all, in the interpretation of the author's purpose in the Fourth Gospel. For a long time it had been held that John was fully aware of the existence of the three Synoptics, and wrote only to supplement or—in one or two cases—to correct them. It was thought that the cleansing of the Temple, for example, had been purposely placed by John at the beginning of Jesus' ministry—for then, as the aged John recalled, was when it had taken place. The date of the crucifixion he similarly corrected, placing it on the eve of Passover—the day the Paschal lambs were slain. The synoptic record is supplemented by an account of the 'Judean' ministry, all but ignored in Mark, Matthew, and Luke. Moreover, while the synoptists represent the growth of Jesus' popularity in Galilee, but not its decline, John supplements this, by showing the decline, and hints at a Messianic crisis (of a political kind) as the cause leading to the conclusion of our Lord's work in the north. When 'they would have taken him by force and made him king,' following the feeding of the five thousand, he withdraws to the hill, sends his disciples away at evening, and himself departs later in the night (vi. 14–21). In brief, John shows why our Lord left Galilee, and why 'many of his disciples drew back' and deserted him (vi. 66)—the brief note in vii. 1 may even suggest that for a time

he was a fugitive.¹ Now it may be that John does undertake to supplement and correct what he knows of the earlier common tradition, oral or written—though the incident of the Temple cleansing appears to have been moved forward for a symbolic purpose, as was also perhaps the date of the Crucifixion. But the question arises at once, Did John know the Synoptic Gospels? Canon Streeter has made it very clear that John knew and presupposed Mark.² His knowledge of Luke is not so certain. Matthew he seems not to have known at all; so that the presumed 'supplementing and correcting' of the Synoptics reduces itself chiefly to such a treatment of Mark. Now, Mark was certainly in need of supplementing—both Luke and Matthew had already undertaken independently to supply this lack; but it is impossible to see in John an avowed and purposeful supplementing of Mark, along the same general lines as are followed in the synoptics, or even a 'correction' of either Mark's general outline or of his view of the content of Jesus' teaching.³ In brief, the theory, when brought face to face with the facts, seems peculiarly unadapted to explain the situation. The discourses of Jesus, as John represents them, are not further material of the kind already familiar—such as Q provides in addition to the Marcan discourses. Something wholly new and different is presented in John, and it is offered not as a supplement but as a *substitute* for the Marcan discourses or sayings. The time had come when, at least in one particular locality, the Marcan account of Jesus' life and teaching no longer sufficed, even with the possible addi-

¹ The basis of H. J. Holtzmann's famous theory of a 'Flight' of Jesus from the territory of Herod Antipas which he introduces into the Marcan scheme in order to account for the visit of Jesus to the north—the region of Tyre and Sidon, Mount Hermon (Cæsarea Philippi), etc.

² *The Four Gospels*, ch. xiv. Cf. J. Weiss, *Älteste Evangelium*, p. 413; *Urchristentum*, p. 612; MacGregor, *Gospel of John*, pp. xf.

³ Even though John shares Mark's view of the gospel as 'hid from the eyes of the Jews'—a view also shared with Paul.

tion of sayings and incidents from Luke or L. As Bousset says, "The figure of Jesus of Nazareth thus delineated [i.e. in the Synoptics] was much too earthly and concrete, much too human and Jewish and limited, too little glorified and dogmatically interpreted. A comparison of the Gospels shows what positive difficulties they presented. But the mere revision of minor details was hardly sufficient. What *might* be done, the Gnostics soon demonstrated; and the life of Jesus as presented in the Synoptics could of course be allegorized, as men had learned to allegorize the Old Testament. Then along came the author of the Fourth Gospel and undertook to meet the need with a wholly new construction of the life of Jesus."⁴ The clue to the author's purpose is not to be discovered by comparing incident with incident and saying with saying, on the theory that 'John' is revising the Synoptic narrative; it is to be seen, rather, in the work as a whole, viewed not as a supplement to the Synoptics but as an independent and comprehensive presentation of the life and teaching of Jesus. If a supplement to the earlier Gospels had been in the author's mind, John would have taken far more thorough account of the details presented in Mark—plus whatever other sources were available. But he is not interested in history as such—only in the divine manifestation which for him characterized the life of Jesus as a whole, and which was evidenced by the seven (or eight) great 'signs' or proofs of Jesus' divine nature which form the bulk of his 'historical' material (outside the Passion Narrative). History as history had no meaning for John, but only as philosophy of history: it is exhausted in its *inner meaning*, so to speak, and not much is left of the outward, factual, concrete course of events.⁵ *Alles Vergängliche ist*

⁴ *Kyrios Christos*, p. 159. Cf. Bauer, *Johannesevangelium*, p. 239.

⁵ Compare the view of history entertained by the author of the Epistle of Barnabas (cf. xvf.), and by other allegorists—the Law, the Sabbath, and so on, were never meant to be observed literally by the Jews, nor worship to be offered in a material

nur ein Gleichniss! He combines the mystical with the dramatic view of the past. As Æschylus or Euripides seizes upon an incident—Agamemnon's return or Hecuba in the midst of her overwhelming woes—and finds all the tragedy and pathos of human existence summed up in that one moment; as the medieval ascetic found in Jesus' temptation and Passion the deepest meanings in the gospel, and the supreme guide to that *Via Negativa* which he himself pursued; so John looks back upon the life of Christ as a whole, or summed up in a few selected incidents, and sees its real significance in the manifestation of divine power, wisdom, and love which he effected. Thus the inner meaning of Christ's life has all but crowded the external events off the stage! Before the supreme Fact of the revelation he has effected the bare historical data of his outward life fade almost into insignificance—with the exception of the few selected incidents which are retained on account of their profound symbolic value.

What the author purposed to do, accordingly, was to set forth in terms of his own and his readers' deepest spiritual needs the gospel of their divine satisfaction in the life, teaching, and redemptive work of the Logos manifest in human flesh. He may have been Gnostic—a 'converted' Gnostic, perhaps; a Gnostic like Clement of Alexandria's ideal of the perfect Christian; at the least, it is from a Gnostic Christian or quasi-Gnostic point of view that this book is best understood. The men and women of his circle were strongly influenced by the growing movement of this name which surrounded them—a movement much older than we have

temple! Dibelius quite properly considers the Fourth Gospel in connection with the Apocryphal Gospels: 'though written earlier than most of them, it belongs at the close of the development they represent' (i. 74). These writers, both of the Apocryphal Gospels and of the allegorical interpretation of Old and New Testaments, were among the earliest ecclesiastical forerunners of those who now maintain that 'the appeal to history is treason.'

ordinarily assumed, and much more successful in Jewish and Hellenistic Christian circles, even in the first century.⁶ Along with this incipient Gnosticism, and as a ready corollary to it, went the movement known as Docetism, against which Ignatius the Martyr protested in vehement terms. Now, it was probably from within this circle of early Christian Gnostic mysticism, sharing in considerable measure its presuppositions but at the same time, and thus all the more effectively, protesting against certain of its extravagances, that the author of the Fourth Gospel wrote his marvelous book. Some of these presuppositions—e.g. the mystical-devotional view of religion, and the use of profound symbolic or allegoric terms—seem to be reflected in the *Odes of Solomon*, an early Christian collection of hymns with a strongly Jewish basis or bias. Others—on the theological side—are clear from the cognate Epistles of John, especially I John, probably by the same writer. The language of the Gospel and that of the Epistles have almost everything in common, and both are clearly influenced by the ‘hieratic’ style one finds also in such different writings as the Hermetic literature, the Mandæan sacred book, and the works of Philo of Alexandria.⁷ But it is not the style that is most significant, or was most significant for the Gospel’s earliest readers; what was significant was the appearance in such a *milieu*, and written in the familiar language of contemporary Gnostic mysticism, of a book which insisted so strongly on the actual historical manifestation,

⁶ As the epp. to Colossians and Ephesians testify, and also the Apocalypse of John. See Philip Carrington, *The Revelation of John* (S. P. C. K., 1931). See also Professor Scott’s recent Commentary on Colossians in Doctor Moffatt’s series; and the Epistle to Hebrews, by F. D. V. Narborough, in the Clarendon Bible (1931)—esp. pp. 21ff. See also Heinrich Schlier, *Christus und die Kirche im Epheserbrief* (Tübingen, 1930).

⁷ For the Hermetica and the Mandæan parallels, see Bousset and Bauer; Easton, *Christ in the Gospels*, pp. 67–78; and the Hermetica in Walter Scott’s fine translation, Oxford, 1924 and fig. (three volumes to date; vol. i contains the translations). For Philo, see Westcott’s Commentary; see also M. R. Ely, *Knowledge of God in Johannine Thought*. The 3d ed. of Bauer’s Comm. has just appeared (1933).

life, Passion, and death of the Divine Logos, the Son of God, the Highest Being in the universe next to God, the One who dwelt in the Bosom of the Father, and in whom all Life, all Knowledge, all the Fullness of the Godhead dwelt. That this Being, who was in the presence of God from the beginning, 'became flesh and tabernacled among us, and we beheld his glory, as of the Only Begotten of the Father'—this was the author's real and most astonishing contribution to the religious thought of his time and place. It was as if a Christian Hindu, his mind steeped from childhood in the profound ideas of the *Bhagavad Gita*, were to compose a philosophical and devotional meditation on the life of Christ in the language of that ancient sacred book of his own people; or as if some disciple of Plotinus, let us say, rather than Theocritus,

"Had come upon the Figure crucified,
And lost his gods in deep Christ-given rest."

Indeed, substitute 'the early Gnostics' for 'Plotinus' and the parallels exactly merge. The Fourth Gospel was the first—at least it is the earliest surviving—attempt to rewrite the life of Christ from a point of view, or *for* a point of view, which was widespread in the Hellenistic world at that time and was destined to grow ever more influential and more philosophical until it rose to the heights of the Valentinian and Ptolemaic systems. The wonder is, not that our Gospel of John contains Gnostic or quasi-Gnostic elements, but that it contains so few, or, rather, so much else—so much that went beyond Gnostic mysticism in retaining a real grasp upon the genuinely historical element in the church's faith.

It is easy to recognize John's dependence upon the theology and religious thought and feeling of St. Paul—Professor Scott has made this abundantly clear in his work on the Fourth Gospel, and most of the recent commentators have

carried the principle out in detail. As Bousset put it, 'John stands on the shoulders of Paul' (p. 180). But we by no means appraise the Gospel aright if we assume that it was some private or individual composition, written outside the Christian community or for purposes other than those of the church in which the author lived. The 'Gnostic' strain in the author's neighborhood was no doubt found within the church. And the Christ he describes is the Christ of the church's tradition and worship, the 'Lord' of the Hellenistic Christian communities founded by Paul and other missionaries from Antioch or elsewhere outside Palestine. Yet there is a difference. Paul always retains the language of the primitive Hellenistic church from which (or within which) he learned the gospel. 'Jesus is Lord' is still his creed—though he advances beyond this to the identification of Jesus with the divine 'Logos' in whom 'all things consist'⁸—John, on the other hand, consistently avoids the use of the title 'Lord.' Bousset thinks (p. 155) it is because he has a conception of the relation of Christians to Christ which rules out its use: 'I have called you friends—not slaves.'⁹ But an equally good reason may be the distinction he wishes to draw between Christ and the 'Lords many and gods many' of the contemporary Hellenistic religious world; Christ stands on an infinitely higher plane than these empty figures—'all who came before were thieves and robbers'¹⁰ may refer to the cult-gods of the Græco-Roman world quite as likely as to the prophets and wise-men of the Jews.

On the other hand, the title 'Son of Man' is retained by John, and, indeed, with its primitive Palestinian connota-

⁸ Rom. x. 9; I Cor. xii. 3; Phil. ii. 11; Col. i. 17.

⁹ xv. 15.

¹⁰ x. 8. Von Baudissin has shown, in his colossal work, *Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum und seine Stelle in der Religionsgeschichte*, Giessen, 1929, that *kyrios* did not connote absolute Deity but, rather, cult-deity, and implied a personal relationship based ultimately on that of the tribe to its God. It is essentially a Semitic conception, and reached its clearest expression about the beginning of the Christian era.

tions of final judgment (v. 27), preëxistence (iii. 13), and exaltation (vi. 62). Yet these connotations are emphasized only in passing, and may but reflect some of the older material available to him in the church's tradition. He has no intention of taking Jewish eschatology seriously and confining (as Matthew had done) the 'work' of Jesus to the preparation for the Judgment and the Messianic Kingdom. The Kingdom is definitely 'not of this world' (xviii. 36); and the Judgment is a continuous one: 'this is the judgment, that the light has come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil.'¹¹

The Messianic or apocalyptic element is stripped in passing, as a miner scoops up the golden sands before he opens the lode-bearing rock whence these precious bits have been washed. The title which John uniformly prefers is 'Son of God,' or more briefly, 'the Son'—and this no longer in the popular and undefined sense in which he read it in Mark, but as the most significant and meaningful title of the Christ whom he knew through his own and the church's faith and worship. There was no danger of misunderstanding this title as there was the title 'Lord.' For the old mythological cults of 'sons of God' and public heroes were already on the wane; the new mystery-cults with their supernatural 'Lords' were the church's real rivals in the first century and the second.¹² Moreover, the title possessed for John and his readers a sense—derived either from Paul, or, more likely, from primitive Hellenistic Christianity generally—a meaning which no one who examined the Gospel with sympathy could fail to grasp: Jesus is 'the Son' in a unique and exclu-

¹¹ iii. 19.

¹² Cf. A. D. Nock, 'Early Gentile Christianity and its Hellenistic Background,' p. 64, in Rawlinson, A. E. J. (ed.), *Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation* (1928); H. R. Willoughby, *Pagan Regeneration* (1929), pp. 23ff.—the book is an excellent interpretation of the inward piety and spiritual aspirations of the devotees of the Mysteries.

sive sense, as the 'Only Begotten' (*Monogenês*), and the title emphasized not his relation to his followers or to the church (as did the title 'Lord') but his relation to the Father, the *Fons et Origo* of his divine nature derived immediately from God. John's language is not exactly or explicitly that of the later church; but there can be no question that the Catholic creeds carry on this interpretation of the nature of Christ in the identical line of theological evolution, though using still later terminology.

It has often been pointed out that the Hymn to the Logos, with which the book opens, is not the key to its interpretation as a whole. Some have concluded that the hymn is a later interpolation; and, indeed, it seems clear that if we remove the hymn, we have left a series of verses that form an admirable opening for a Gospel: 'There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. . . . And this is his testimony, when the Jews sent priests and Levites.'¹³ But it need not follow that the hymn has been interpolated into the Gospel. On our view, precisely the opposite course has been pursued. The hymn is the author's text, so to speak, and it sets his meditative exposition in the very loftiest key. As he slips away from it into the historical narrative—or what represents historical narrative for him—he interjects the description of John, and prepares for the conclusive demonstration of the Baptist's inferiority to Christ. The hymn, then, existed before the narrative, at least in the author's mind. And it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the author himself had composed the hymn, perhaps some time before he undertook to write the Gospel. If a purely imaginary hypothesis may for a moment be advanced, I should like to substitute for Canon Streeter's

¹³ The description of John in i. 7-8 has been added to bring the statement in vs. 6 into relation with the hymn in which it has been inserted; it forms a parenthetic comment introductory to the whole treatment of John in the opening chapters, where his subordination to Christ is clearly emphasized.

suggestion of 'an old man's farewell'¹⁴ the picture of a *young* man, gifted with poetic and mystic insight, schooled perhaps in Heraclitus' doctrine in Ephesus, but strongly swayed by the now-popular Gnostic and theosophic religious speculation of his time. His mind had always been deeply and genuinely religious, and in the hymn, begun some while before he became a Christian, he preserved the richest fruitage of his thought from the days before he had discovered Christ, but when none the less he had been steadily drawing nearer to the true Light that lighteth every man. Now he makes it his sublime point of departure for the interpretation of the work and teaching of Christ and of the Truth of Christ for all mankind. That the earlier part of the hymn contains teaching not specifically Christian is evident from the remark attributed to a later Neoplatonist that 'the first chapter of John should be written in letters of gold.'^{14a} As a classic exposition of the noblest type of pre-Christian philosophy it deserves and rewards the most careful study, for it belongs with those inspired Greek and Latin 'prophecies' which some of the Fathers recognized: Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus*, Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue*, and Plato's description of the Perfectly Righteous Man.¹⁵ It has been suggested that the author is indebted to Philo, or perhaps to some Græco-Jewish 'Hymn to Wisdom'; but its affiliations seem far more direct with the Platonized Stoicism upon which Philo himself drew, and likewise in some measure the writers of the Jewish Wisdom Literature. Only, it is an 'Orientalized' Platonic-Stoic mysticism, of the kind lying back of early

¹⁴ *The Four Gospels*, pp. 465-481.

^{14a} 'The old saint Simplicianus, afterwards bishop of Milan, used to tell me that a certain Platonist was in the habit of saying that this opening passage of the holy Gospel, entitled, *According to John*, should be written in letters of gold, and hung up in all churches in the most conspicuous place.' Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, x. 29 *ad fin.*

¹⁵ I have ventured to offer an English paraphrase, illustrating the structure, in Note G.

Gnosticism and (on the philosophical side) back of popular Hellenistic mysticism.

If that is so, there is little room for the hypothesis of Mandæan concepts underlying the Fourth Gospel. For the Mandæan religion, as far as we can make out, had no vital contact with Greek philosophy—certainly not in the first or second century. As that Oriental religion made its way slowly westward, it inevitably came in contact and conflict with Christianity, and—through Christianity—with the Hellenistic world at large. But the fact of its Christianization tells against any possible earlier contacts with Greek thought: when it comes into contact with the latter, it meets it in Christian form.¹⁶ It may be, as Bauer has said, that both Mandæism and the Fourth Gospel 'spring from a common circle of ideas, and share a common fund of concepts, symbols, illustrations, religious views and language generally.'¹⁷ But the one religion fronted eastward, and has continued to do so all through its long and obscure history; while the other, Christianity, has faced steadily westward, and has gone forward in this direction from the day when first it crossed the borders and bounds of Palestine and advanced toward 'the wide prospect'—the vast world of Græco-Roman culture, Europe, and the still undiscovered lands beyond the western sea. The probability is that the 'Mandæan parallels,' of which Bauer has given such a fine collection in his *Commentary*, illustrate the common religious background of both Mandæism and Hellenistic Christian mysticism, and indicate the source of much of their common language; they scarcely prove any dependence of the one upon the other.

¹⁶ See Burkitt, 'The Mandæans,' in *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, April, 1928 (xix. no. 115). He shows that 'Mandæan hostility to Jesus is hostility to the fully developed Nicene Church, and that the Jewish ideas were most probably derived from the Peshitta.' E. A. Graham in *Church Quart. Rev.*, no. 226 (Jan., 1932), p. 237.

¹⁷ *Johannesevangelium*, p. 4; Easton, *Christ in the Gospels*, pp. 76ff.

The question is certainly a difficult one to answer, but it is one that is bound to be asked: Where was this Gospel written? It is much easier to describe the ideas it takes for granted, and the religious-philosophical situation in which it arose, than to localize it definitely. The contacts with Mandæism, now so widely discussed—or, rather, the contacts with the circle of ideas which Mandæism likewise presupposes—no doubt support the theory of an eastern origin of the Gospel, possibly in Antioch, as Professor Bauer and the late Doctor Burney maintained.¹⁸ Ephrem Syrus also held this view: *Johannes scripsit evangelium graece Antiochiæ*. But Ephrem was a Syrian, and a pardonable local pride may account for his opinion, unsupported as it is by any earlier, or, indeed, any other ancient, ecclesiastical tradition. Professor Burney's predilection is accounted for by his theory of 'the Aramaic origin of the Fourth Gospel' (the title of his book published in 1922): Syria was the most likely region for the appearance of an Aramaic gospel.¹⁹ Bauer's arguments are stronger: (1) John must have been written in a neighborhood saturated with Oriental mysticism and Gnosticism. (2) A locality near Palestine is suggested by the author's violent antagonism toward the Jews. Anti-semitism presupposes a region where Jews were in a position not only to make Christians uncomfortable, but to threaten them with actual dangers. (3) Here also were to be found disciples of John, and other Oriental prophets and 'sons of God,' as rivals of the new religion and its Lord, in sufficient numbers to make necessary an answer to their claims. (4) Moreover, Ignatius of Antioch proves himself a contemporary with strong spiritual affinities for the writer of our Gospel; while

¹⁸ Cf. Bauer, p. 237; Jülicher, new ed., pp. 419, 423.

¹⁹ Defenders of the hypothesis must now reckon with Professor E. C. Colwell's *The Greek of the Fourth Gospel: A Study of Its Aramaisms in the Light of Hellenistic Greek* (Chicago, 1931). He shows conclusively that the theory of an Aramaic original of the Fourth Gospel is 'not proven.'

(5) the strong Semitic tone of both the Gospel and the Epistles points equally clearly in this direction.

But it could not have taken mysticism much longer to reach Ephesus—the traditional place of origin of the book—than Antioch; and the Jews were all but ubiquitous in the first and second centuries. Alexandria was as likely a place, on this score, as Antioch—witness III Maccabees. John's disciples were to be found in Ephesus, according to the Book of Acts (xix. 3). And Ignatius presupposes an acquaintance with his own ideas, and sympathy with his own warm feelings, on the part of readers in the cities of western Asia Minor to whom he writes. As for the 'Semitic tone' of the Johannine writings, that is still somewhat debatable—not all authorities are agreed upon it. I do not mean to dismiss thus cavalierly the arguments Professor Bauer has advanced, especially since the question admits of no more than a tentative or probable answer. But I wish to indicate what seem to me the difficulties in their way. A still more insuperable obstacle is the almost certain ignorance of the Gospel of Matthew on the part of the author of John. That Matthew, of all three synoptists, should be unknown or unused by a gospel writer living in Antioch seems improbable in the extreme.

On the other hand, his thorough acquaintance with and use of Mark point to the West. This might, of course, be used as an argument against positing the Syrian provenance of Matthew—whose use of Mark is a hundredfold that of John. But it is surely easier to account for John's use of Mark, the Roman Gospel, if he wrote in Ephesus, than to explain his disuse of Matthew, if he wrote in Antioch. Hence we fall back upon the traditional assignment of John to the province of Asia, and retain the designation Professor Percy Gardner has made popular, 'the Ephesian Gospel.' The traditions of the second century (summarized and sifted

by Bauer, p. 235) seem to me still to point clearly to Ephesus or its neighborhood as the place of origin of the Gospel; around this hard fact has grown the legend of Johannine authorship—a legend all the more easily developed if the author or redactor bore the fairly common name of John. I call *this* element in the tradition ‘hard fact’—for obviously it would have been much simpler had the primary datum been the author’s name, as ‘John the Apostle,’ to locate the writing of the Gospel in Palestine; but the fact that the Gospel had appeared in Asia stood in the way, and all the fine unconscious ingenuity of guesswork and legend was required to explain it.²⁰ Much of the explanation very probably goes back to Irenæus, and to him—if not to Papias—was doubtless due the preservation of the ‘primary datum’—the origin of the Gospel in Ephesus. Apart from the tradition, one might even imagine that Rome first saw the book, since Rome was the world-headquarters of religious propaganda in the second century; but again the tradition stands in the way, and the claim of Ephesus is not to be ignored, nor can it be explained away.

As for the date of John, Professor Bauer has excellently summed up the evidence (l.c.). “None of the Apostolic Fathers can be cited as certain evidence of familiarity with John. On the other hand, Irenæus recognizes its canonical authority as one of ‘the four’; Tatian combined it with the synoptics in his famous *Diatessaron*; the Montanist movement presupposes it; while for the younger Valentinians, Ptolemæus and Heracleon, it was a favorite book. . . . Jus-

²⁰ As Jülicher says, ‘the son of Zebedee is imported into Asia Minor by later legend’ (new ed., p. 419). What brought him there, I hold, was the existence of a Gospel attributed to him which, tradition said, had been written in Asia. That is, the tradition of the Gospel’s origin in Asia was so strong that it induced the legend to transfer John to this province for the later years of his life—whereas John the son of Zebedee, the apostle, had probably died a martyr in Palestine long before the Gospel was written. Cf. MacGregor, *Int. to Commentary*, pp. liiff.; Jülicher, new ed., p. 398. On the use of Mark in Ephesus, see Souter, *Canon and Text*, p. 161.

tin and Papias apparently presuppose it. In view of all these facts it is surely unwise to bring the book down too far into the second century."²¹ Accordingly, a date early in the second century, say 100-125 A. D., seems best to suit the requirements of the case. An earlier date, some time prior to the close of the first century, is assumed by those who find themselves reluctant to abandon the possibility that John the son of Zebedee was, if not the author of the Gospel, at least—as Harnack maintained—in some sense responsible for it. But this now seems less probable every year. As we grow more familiar with the background of ideas and religious aspirations, roughly classified under the designation 'Hellenistic mysticism,' the more certain it seems that no Palestinian Jewish writer could have produced this book. For it abandons not only the form and in large measure the dominant ideas of Jesus' own teaching, but also those of contemporary Judaism, in the period prior to or immediately following the Fall of Jerusalem. There is nothing tentative about this transposition of the gospel into another key: it is positive throughout, and entirely dogmatic. The author has lived with some of his ideas for a long time, probably most of his life. They are of the very fabric and fiber of his mind.

The evidence contained in the tradition has been gone over repeatedly, and I do not wish to rehearse it here. No one has studied it more closely than MacGregor, in the Introduction of his new *Commentary*. As a conclusion, or, rather, as a defensible hypothesis, he proposes three successive figures, each of whom had a hand in the composition

²¹ See also Jülicher, § 31. 1 (new ed., pp. 39off.); Dibelius, *Geschichte*, i. 82: "Though it appears to have been used by many about the middle of the second century, no certain traces of it can be found at the beginning of the century, since the presumed borrowings—e.g. by Ignatius of Antioch—are not necessarily from the Gospel but more probably from the language and ideas of the circle in which the Gospel arose."

of the Gospel: (1) the Witness, 'the disciple whom Jesus loved,' 'a young Jerusalemite disciple, outside the number of the Twelve, but admitted to the inner circle during the closing days'; (2) the Evangelist himself, afterward 'John the Elder' of Ephesus, 'a younger contemporary and disciple of the Witness,' who made use of the testimony of the Witness, though he was himself 'almost certainly a Jew, and in all probability, at least by birth and early training, a Jew of Palestine.' He wrote the Gospel in his old age, in Ephesus, and after his death (3) the Redactor of the Gospel revised its order, interpolated certain 'anti-Baptist' sections, and added the Appendix (ch. xxi).

This hypothesis is perhaps the best possible one under the circumstances, from the conservative viewpoint, and motivated by the desire to retain as much as possible of the early ecclesiastical tradition.²² But its weakness lies in the assumption of the 'memoirs' or recollections of 'the Witness.' A man whose memory retained as much as he is supposed, on this hypothesis, to have remembered, would certainly have remembered much more; and he would scarcely have remembered so much that conflicts with the earlier evangelic documents. I do not mean that his memory played false, e.g. as to the time of the Temple cleansing—quite conceivably the Marcan tradition may be entirely wrong on this point, and the presumed use of the charge, at the time, that Jesus had threatened to destroy the Temple was only an editorial afterthought. But surely Mark, Q, L, and the other Synoptic sources or strands of tradition, not to mention a responsible author like Luke, were not all of them dead wrong

²² More is to be said for the hypothesis of redaction. Not only is the present order of the Gospel wrong (see Moffatt's translation, or the Int. to Bernard's or MacGregor's Commentary), but it is a question if the work is even finished. See C. R. Bowen, 'Comments on the Fourth Gospel,' in *Angl. Theol. Rev.* xii. 225-238; B. W. Bacon, 'Pauline Elements in the Fourth Gospel,' *ibid.*, xi. 199-223, 305-320; Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

in the accounts they gave of the form, contents, subjects, interests, aims of the teaching of Jesus! For John, Jesus wears the garb of a Hellenistic Mystagogue, and speaks in the 'hieratic' style appropriate to the mystery which he discloses, oracularly, mysteriously, sublimely.²³ The teaching of the historical Jesus of Nazareth was sublime—but it was not delivered in Johannine language or in the language of popular Hellenistic mysticism. Even in the letters of St. Paul, who stood in fairly close contact with this type of religious thought, and was himself by no means unaffected by it, when the words of Jesus are quoted or his teaching alluded to, their form and structure are entirely Jewish, not Hellenistic, and classify easily with the Synoptic traditions rather than with the Johannine discourses.²⁴

What we have in John, in other words, is an apologetic statement of Christian faith and practice in wholly new terms; and there is as little evidence for a continuous Palestinian-Ephesian type of historical tradition as there is for a Johannine document, or *Grundschrift*, which MacGregor rightly rejects (p. xl). In outward form it appears to be historical; but history, in the strict sense, was the last thing in the world its author thought he was writing. It was not even Jewish Haggadah; it was Hellenistic religious mystery-drama brought down to earth and forced to make terms with a tradition—not extensive or exhaustive—such as we find in the early Gospel of Mark.²⁵ By 'Hellenistic religious mystery-drama' I do not mean something non-Chris-

²³ For exx., see Bousset's *Kyrios Christos*, ch. v; Ely, op. c. What John gives us is an artistic, devotional creation—not history; his scenes are exquisite, symbolic altar-panels—not transcripts of past events; like the mystagogue, he is interested in the spiritual and eternally valid present *meaning* of the past, not in the realistic portrayal of events as they actually occurred.

²⁴ E.g. I. Cor. vii. 10, ix. 14, xi. 23ff., xv. 4ff.; cf. Acts xx. 35.

²⁵ Cf. R. H. Strachan's suggestive work, *The Fourth Evangelist, Dramatist or Historian?* (1925); Jülicher, new ed., pp. 417ff.

tian; 'mystery-drama' was the native heath of this writer, but he was a Christian, and the church of his time and place already, no doubt, set forth its faith in this perfectly normal way; and, moreover, he was a Hellenist—not a Jew but a Levantine or Greek. There are no tears in the corners of his eyes as he writes of the self-condemnation of 'the Jews,' as there were in the eyes of the old scribe who wrote 'Matthew.' Nor could he have shared Paul's readiness to be 'anathema' for his people's sake. He is a speculative genius in religion; no Jew was that—Philo of Alexandria was no genius, and did nothing creative. What 'John' did, whoever he was, wherever he lived and wrote, was to give creative expression to a type of Christian faith and piety without which Europe might never have become even outwardly Christian.

It is probably true that he is in large measure responsible for bringing into the church a one-sided and self-centered mysticism, for setting up an academic and superficial criterion of orthodoxy, for legitimizing a type of emotional piety diametrically opposed to that enjoined by our Lord—who had no patience with those who 'said but did not.' For it is perfectly evident that John, despite his glowing paragraphs about 'love,' in the abstract, nevertheless hates 'the Jews' with all his heart. Such orthodoxy and spirituality of profession, contradicted by actual performance, was a bad heritage for the Hellenistic church, and one destined to survive for a long time. However, this is but one aspect of his achievement—its darker side; and the main fact still holds true, that no one contributed more toward the evolution of Catholic Christianity than this early second-century mystic. All the future lay before him, as he wrote his new and revolutionary account of the life of Christ, transposing and transforming it into a dramatic exposition of the inner meaning of Christ for the world (in place of the hard facts of the

traditional narratives); all the future lay before him—the Greek Fathers and Apologists with their profound expositions and defenses of the faith, the mighty liturgies of the Oriental churches, the devout hymnology of the early ages, the Catholic creeds with their subtle definitions and thunderous anathemas, the art and architecture of the Great Church, with its solemn services, its celestial music, its multitude of ministers, its sacraments, and the grace of heaven streaming through it like the very sap of that Living Vine our author described. All the future of Catholicism, the Great Church of East and West, of Orient and Occident, uniting Palestine and Greece and fusing Hebraism and Hellenism in one compact and indissoluble spiritual unity—all this future lay before him as he put pen to paper to draw his picture of the glorified Christ of the Hellenists.

NOTE G

THE LOGOS HYMN IN JOHN i

1. In the beginning was the Eternal Word,
In the presence of God was the Word,
Of God's own nature was the Word,
2. For he was from the beginning with God.
3. All things came to be through him,
Apart from him naught came to be,
4. What is, is life in him alone—
The life that shines as light to men.
5. So shone the light now in the dark,
Nor could the darkness overwhelm the light;
10. Soul of the world, which came to be through him:
Yet has it never recognized him.
11. Once came he to his own
And they rejected him;
12. To those who welcomed him he gave
Power to become the sons of God.
14. And so the Word took flesh and dwelt with men;
We saw his glory, as the Only Son,
Full like his Father, rich in grace and truth;
16. Sharing in him we grow from grace to grace.
17. Moses the Law, but grace and truth brought Christ;
18. None e'er beheld the veiled face of God—
The Only Begotten, dwelling in the Father's breast,
He hath unveiled him now before our eyes.

Omitting verses 6-9, 12c-13, 15, which appear to have been interpolated as historical comments, there remains a fairly homogeneous and consecutive hymn. Its first three stanzas, as noted above in ch. viii, express a philosophical view similar to the Stoic-Platonic version of the Heraclitean Logos-doctrine. The third stanza may be based upon Genesis i; though the symbols of light and darkness are common to many an old Oriental religion, as far apart in time and place as India and Egypt, Zoroastrianism and Mithraism, the Hermetic writings and the Neoplatonic religious philosophy. Even St. Paul makes use of them: II Cor. iv. 6, Col. i. 12, etc. The last three stanzas, forming the specifically Christian part of the poem, reach a noble climax, and show how the fundamental postulates of the Logos-philosophy lead on naturally to the doctrine of the Incarnation. Thus they form an admirable apologetic application of that doctrine, one that, in fact, anticipates the views of Clement, Origen, and the Alexandrian school generally. The hymn makes very clear the significance which early Christianity found in the Logos-doctrine as an interpretation of the historical appearance of Christ, his revelation of the Father, and his rejection at the hands of his own people. As a substitute for the Jewish Messianic category, which was unacceptable to wide circles of Gentiles, it was wonderfully well adapted to provide a clue to the interpretation of Christ's nature and mission, on a par with the highest reaches of Jewish Messianism and, indeed, superior to it in many ways; at the same time it related the Christian faith in Christ not only to the tenets of a particular and widely influential philosophy, but also to the age-long quest of the world in general for a Revealer of God, a Redeemer from sin and death, a Truth-bringer and a Grace-bestower. Incidentally, moreover, it enabled the author to point the superiority of Christ to Moses, the Lawgiver of the Jews.

A close study of the hymn helps us to understand far more clearly the antecedents of the author of the Gospel. Though he makes little use of philosophical terminology, either here or in the body of the Gospel, it is clear that he is familiar with one form of the Stoic-Platonic cosmogony—i.e. a popular religious version of it; and at the same time he is in touch with Judaism, perhaps with the Jewish Gnosticism of which we have traces elsewhere in the New Testament, though he is full of scorn for actual, concrete, contemporary Judaism. (This may have been characteristic also of the *illuminati* of Jewish Gnosticism.) In this he reminds us of the author of the Epistle of Barnabas, in whose view Jewish religious institutionalism was only a superb illustration of the folly of literalism. God never meant the laws governing the Sabbath, the rite of circumcision, the Temple and its sacrifices, the public cultus and its ministers, to be taken literally—their only significance was symbolic, as the outward and visible hieroglyphs of an esoteric message of eternal life (cf. John v. 39, 46).

The rhythmic prose style of the hymn, as well as its contents, speaks strongly, I believe, against an Aramaic original. It was too palpably written in Greek. The hieratic, mystagogic style, which Bousset recognized in such cognate religious writings as the later Hermetica, and which can be seen likewise in the perhaps contemporary Odes of Solomon, one can discern for himself by reading the hymn aloud (in Greek), slurring the syllables wherever possible, and making such elisions as would naturally be made in chanting. The hymn, I believe, was a real hymn, written to be sung. Verses 6–8, e.g., appear upon such a method of examination to be not only structurally unnecessary but also to lack the rhythmic style of the rest—note the frequent use of π and σ even in juxtaposition! The same is true of vv. 12c–13, where Pauline-Johannine ideas are introduced for purposes

of interpretation. Vs. 9 (a rhymed triplet!) continues the reflection on John the Baptist (6-8), and repeats the language of the hymn (vs. 4). Vs. 9c. may even belong at the end of vs. 5—exegetes are not sure whether ἐρχόμενον . . . refers to 'light' or to 'men.' Vs. 15, though metrical in structure, shows how easily the author echoes the style of the hymn, his thought

"subdued
To what it works in, like the dyer's hand."

This is, of course, not strange if the hymn was his own earlier creation! Vs. 16 cannot be a continuation of John's testimony in vs. 15, but carries on the thought of vs. 14.

I do not claim finality for the details of this reconstruction; but I have endeavored to point out what seem to be fairly certain traces of the original structure of the hymn, and to show that it probably could have been sung or chanted (not in my English version, but in Greek!), or at least could have been recited with effect, if its author's purpose aimed at such use. And I think this is what he aimed at—a hymn for liturgical use.

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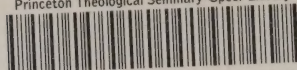
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